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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a review in phenomenological perspective of the diagnostic and prescriptive literature that asks why and how educational reforms occur. The work has three objectives. The first is to search the historical and current international literature for educational reform theories and to demonstrate how these theories are rooted in systematic orientations concerning social reality and the social change process. The second objective is to demonstrate how the major educational reform theories lead to logically consistent assumptions concerning necessary preconditions, rationales, processes, and the like. The third objective is to stimulate a greater awareness among educational planners of how their biases constrain their ability to explore the full range of potentially effective strategies for reform. Findings include the following: (1) systematic attempts to explain and predict educational reform phenomena are fairly numerous but lack analytical rigor and testability; (2) a number of theoretical orientations can be identified; (3) these orientations are not random or eclectic but, rather, follow from personal bias concerning theoretical and ideological orientations to social reality and social change process; and (4) the literature is deficient in work that acknowledges personal bias in attempts to conceptualize reform causes and effects. An extensive bibliography is included. (Author/RM)

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CONFLICTING THEORIES OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE: A Typological Review

Rolland G. Paulston

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SUMMARY

This paper presents a review in phenomenological perspective of the diagnostic and prescriptive literature that asks why and how educational reforms occur. The work has three objectives. The first is to search the historical and current international literature, relate educational-reform "theories" or causal orientations, and demonstrate how these theories about large-scale educational change are rooted in systematic ideological orientations concerning social reality and the social-change process.

The second objective is to demonstrate how the major educational-reform theories or orientations identified lead to logically consistent assumptions or propositions concerning educational-reform potentials, necessary preconditions, rationales, scope, processes, and the like.

The two basic social-change paradigms (the equilibrium and the conflict); the six reform "theories" (1) evolutionary and neo-evolutionary, (2) structural-functional, (3) systems, (4) Marxian and neo-Marxian, (5) cultural revitalization, and (6) anarchistic and utopian; and the operational assumptions found in the literature are described and assessed in the text and summarized in Figure 1.

This summary figure is presented to meet the above-stated aims and to address my third objective, i.e., to stimulate a greater awareness among educational planners, reformers, et al., of how their ideological and theoretical biases constrain their ability to explore the full range of potentially effective strategies for educational reform.

Findings from the review may be summarized as follows: (1) systematic attempts to explain and predict educational-reform phenomena are fairly numerous but lack analytical rigor and testability; (2) a number of theoretical orientations may be identified -- all hold fairly predictable assumptions about educational-reform phenomena; (3) these orientations are not random or eclectic but rather follow from personal bias concerning theoretical and ideological orientations to social reality and social-change proces; (4) the literature is seriously deficient in work that acknowledges personal bias in attempts to conceptualize reform causes and effects, and the central influence of ideology and power in attempts to alter values and structures in educational systems.

As major educational reforms always involve a political process with implications for the redistribution of power, the lack of reform analysis from conflict perspectives has seriously limited our ability to either understand or predict the outcome of educational-reform efforts purportedly seeking greater equity and efficiency.

Figure 1

RELATIONS BETWEEN THEORIES OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE/"REFORM"

Social Change		Illustrative Linked Assumptions Concerning Educational-Change Potentials and Processes			
Paradigms	"Theories"	Re Preconditions for Educational Change	Re Rationales for Educational Change	Re Scope and Process of Educational Change	Re Major Outcomes Sought
Equilibrium	Evolutionary	State of evolutionary readiness	Pressure to move to a higher evolutionary stage	Incremental and adaptive; "natural history" approach	New stage of institutional evolutional adaptation
	Neo-Evolutionary	Satisfactory completion of earlier stages	Required to support "national modernization" efforts	"Institution building" using Western models and technical assistance	New "higher" state of education and social differentiation/specialization
	Structural-Functionist	Altered functional and structural requisites	Social system need provoking an educational response; exogenous threats	Incremental adjustment of existing institutions, occasionally major	Continued "homeostasis" or "moving" equilibrium; "human capital" and national "development"
	Systems	Technical expertise in "systems management." "Rational decision making" and "needs assessment"	Need for greater efficiency in system's operation and goal achievement; i.e., response to a system "malfunction"	Innovative "problem solving" in existing systems: i.e., "Research and Development approach	Improved "efficiency" re costs/benefits; adoption of innovations

Conflict	Marxian	Elite's awareness of need for change, or shift of power to socialist rulers and educational reformers	To adjust correspondence between social relations of production and social relations of schooling	Adjustive incremental following social mutations or radical restructuring with Marxist predominance	Formation of integrated workers, i.e., the new "Socialist Man"
	Neo-Marxian	Increased political power and political awareness of working class	Demands for social justice and social equality	Large-scale national reforms through "democratic" institutions and processes	Eliminate "educational privilege" and "elitism"; create a more equalitarian society
	Cultural Revitalization	Rise of a collective effort to revive or create "a new culture." Social tolerance for "deviant" normative movements and their educational programs	Rejection of conventional schooling as forced acculturation. Education needed to support advance toward movement goals	Creation of alternative schools or educational settings. If movement captures polity, radical change in national educational ideology and structure	Inculcate new normative system. Meet movement's recruitment, training, and solidarity needs
	Anarchistic Utopian	Creation of supportive settings; growth of critical consciousness; social pluralism	Free man from institutional and social constraints. Enhance creativity need for "lifelong learning"	Isolated "freeing up" of existing programs and institutions, or create new learning modes and settings, i.e., a "learning society"	Self-renewal and participation. Local control of resources and community; elimination of exploitation and alienation

> A general State education is a mere contrivance for moulding people to be exactly like one another; and as the mould in which it casts them is that which pleases the predominant power in the government, whether this be a monarch, a priesthood, an aristocracy, or the majority of the existing generation in proportion as it is efficient and successful, it establishes a despotism over the mind, leading by natural tendency to one over the body.
>
> John Stuart Mill (1859)

> So slow is the progress of educational reform. So easy is it to discern educational improvements; so hard to get them carried out in practice.
>
> Charles William Elliott (1898)

PART I

INTRODUCTION

Attempts to alter educational systems continually recur in both developing and advanced industrial societies. Such induced educational-change efforts range broadly, from innovations in classroom activities to large-scale reforms seeking system-wide change in educational goals, priorities, and structures. Work on innovations in schools is fairly well advanced and will not be treated here. The interested reader is directed to the comprehensive review by Pincus (1974). Additional studies examining aspects of induced change in lower levels of formal school systems may be found in Abbot (1965), Guba (1965), Betrand (1968), Havelock (1969), Bickner (1972), Levine (1973), Benson (1974), Sikes (1974), and Baldridge (1975), among others.

Instead, my concern will be to review major theoretical perspectives on educational reform at the national level. I will seek to relate notions of causality in educational change to several theories of social change. More specifically, I shall attempt to answer the questions: What can a review of the historical, international, and current literature tell us about the relationships between social-change theories and assumptions concerning the feasibility, processes, and outcomes for educational reform? How might such a review and categorization then be used to illustrate how conflicting theories of social and educational change lead to quite different assessments of educational-reform potentials and evaluations of outcomes?

In answering these questions, I will use Simmon's (1974) definition of educational reform as "those changes in educational policy which cause major changes in either educational budget, the slope of the pyramid of school enrollment, or the effect of educational investment on individual and social development." Here, the stress is upon reforms seeking altered priorities and structural relationships, and less so on behavioral change. It may be useful to distinguish between the concepts of educational innovation, reform, and change. Innovation is viewed as relatively isolated technical or programmatic alterations or as low-level change, whereas reform involves a normative national and broad structural change. I use the term "reform" with some reluctance, however, and share Miles' (1964) complaint that it is "a vague, diffuse term without very precise referents [and] . . . with strong melioristic overtones."

Despite obvious conceptual difficulties in the study of large-scale reform phenomena, the need to develop more rigorous theoretical perspectives on the origins and effects of educational reforms remains. Although educational planners, policy makers, administrators, and the like, who constantly make assumptions

about reforms, may be most concerned with political and technical considerations, there is, I contend, a need to understand better how personal theoretical bias influences individual views of social reality and educational-reform strategies and tactics.

Additional goals are, accordingly, to stimulate greater awareness both of how views of social reality and social change tend to channel and filter individual perceptions and behavior, and to indicate some alternative possibilities for looking at educational-change potentials and constraints. In a survey on planned social change, Crowfoot and Chesler (1974, p. 278) analyze divergent root assumptions about values and about the nature of reality that change-agents bring to intervention activities. The rationale for their study speaks eloquently to this third objective: "All planned change efforts imply a commitment to a certain view of reality, and acceptance of certain modes of realizing those ends. Those assumptions constitute the conscious or unconscious bases for selecting specific courses of action and thus they precede all tactical decisions. To the extent that change agents cannot identify those basic assumptions and their implications, they cannot explore the full range of effective strategies of change."

In this work I will be looking at educational reform ideas and prescriptions as human action in social groups. The analysis will focus on social and cultural systems and draw for the greatest part on work in sociology and anthropology. To date, most work seeking to "explain" educational reform phenomena has examined innovation efforts in schools using theory from the fields of social psychology, communications, and organizational analysis. The categorization of change strategies presented in these studies are, accordingly, strongly biased toward what Chin and Benne (1969, p. 2) characterize as "empirico-rational" or "scientific" perspectives with preferences for social harmony and consensus and avoidance of ideological and conflict factors.

In sum, this review seeks to delineate the total range of theoretical perspectives that have been used to support educational reform strategies and to suggest how individual choice behavior follows from basic philosophical, ideological, and experimental orientations to perceived social reality (Pribram, 1949; Berger, 1970; Blackburn, 1972).

The organization is in three parts. Following the introduction in Part I, I typologize and synthesize existing conceptual work on social and educational change in Part II to produce insights useful in the immediate task of delineating assumptions underlying reform proposals in any given system. These assumptions are summarized in Figure 1. Part III concludes the review with an assessment of existing theoretical windows on reality, and their "power" to explain and predict educational-change phenomena. A note on research and priorities needed if we are to move toward greater understanding and more fruitful study of the conditions influencing structural-change efforts in educational systems is also included.

Materials chosen for review are of two general types. They include works on social change that also treat implications for educational change as well as studies of educational reform that are framed—either implicitly or explicitly—in various social-change perspectives. The several theoretical orientations chosen represent a compromise of sorts based on possibilities for alternative categorizations and conceptual orientations found in the literature, as well as previous efforts to categorize social and educational-change strategies. It should be noted that the basic criterion for item selection is the presence of rationales for educational change, i.e., proposals where the normative and theoretical rationales may be identified and typed.

The following information systems and serial publications were searched to identify relevant data: (1) ERIC–The Educational Resources Information Centers system; (2) CIJE–The Current Index of Journals in Education (periodicals) system; (3) RIE–Researches in Education (microfilm); (4) The Social Science File of the Institute of Scientific Information; (5) International Political Science Abstracts; and (6) The Education Index. I have expressly avoided including government policy materials and plans for educational reform. Although this vast literature may be of value for the analysis of governmental priority, posturing, and rhetoric, it consistently avoids analysis of objective conditions, constraints on [illegible] questions addressed in this work.

Any review of presuppositions undergirding educational-reform strategies is necessarily circumscribed by the present state of scholarly inquiry on the relationships under study. Reviews do not generate new data. Rather, as in this instance, they are perhaps most valuable as efforts to probe and characterize existing work, to generate new conceptual frames, and to point out research gaps and promising opportunities.

In the organization of Part I into rather broad and, at times, overlapping conceptual frameworks, I have built a strong personal bias into the work concerning the central roles that ideology and power play in shaping policy assumptions about what "should be" as well as research into what "might be."

Here I share Seliger's (1969, 1970, 1971) compelling arguments against the restrictive definition of ideology widely found in the writings of, for instance, Bell, Parsons, Shils, Almond, et al. Theirs is a negative view of the concept in that they only apply it to such "radical" belief systems as fascism, communism, and the like. A more inclusive definition of ideology allows application of the concept to all political belief systems, including liberalism and conservativism, and will be used here.

In presenting this highly selective review, it is well to acknowledge at the outset my predisposition to view ideology, power, and perceived group self-interest as key factors influencing planning and implementation of basic educational reforms. Although these three concepts are repugnant to the liberal/conservative world-view long predominant in U.S. reform and innovation efforts, there are indications that ideology at least may at long last become regarded as a respectable independent variable in U.S. reform studies (Swift, 1971; Popkewitz, 1975). Messick (1971), for example, recently argued in a conference on educational testing that:

> What is at issue is ideology. It is not the implications of research results *per se* that are to be implemented in the proposed strategies, it is the implications of research as interpreted or filtered through a particular ideology about the nature of man and society. In this sense, research does not directly determine the aims of educational practice or educational change, nor should we expect it to. It instead serves to refine, to justify, and in its finest moments to challenge directions that are primarily ideologically determined. Its most powerful impact comes on those rare occasions when it stimulates a change in the mediating conceptions, especially when it produces a change in our conception of the human being as a learner.

In a valuable effort to operationalize ideology as a variable, Seliger (1969) contends that all political decisions, including those concerning educational reform

result from ends-means calculations in terms of moral norms such as equity, justice, etc., and of technical norms such as efficiency, expediency, and the like. As components of ideology, both take the form of prescriptions, of different kinds of facts. Both technical prescriptions and moral norms can be viewed as essential interacting components in ideology when it is viewed as an ideal-type structure influencing the "behavior" of all political belief systems in the following sequence: D–description; A–analysis; P (m)–moral prescriptions; P (t)–technical prescriptions; I–implementation ways and means; R–rejections. These six components combine in any ideological argument, yet the structure bifurcates in everyday politics into what might be called the fundamental and the operative.

In distinguishing between ideological and nonideological arguments for educational reform, Bilski (1973) proposes three ideal types of arguments. Purely "nonideological arguments" consist of nonideological, educational, social, and fiscal factors unrelated to moral prescriptions of a certain ideology. In "moderately fundamental ideological arguments," nonideological factors are given absolute centrality, yet an attempt is made to relate these factors to the moral prescriptions of the ideology. In "purely fundamental ideological arguments," complete centrality is accorded to the moral prescriptions, and nonideological factors, if present at all, have only a peripheral position. In the analysis of social- and educational-reform literature that follows, all three types of arguments are presented by advocates and opponents of large-scale educational change.

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas. (Happy is he who can grasp the causes of things.)[1]

PART II

THEORIES AND MODELS OF SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL CHANGE

In the past several decades, a number of theories—i.e., bodies of logically interdependent generalized concepts with empirical referents—have been elaborated in efforts to specify under what conditions significant ideological, structural, and programmatic changes occur in educational systems. As we shall see, this work draws heavily on more general theories of planned social change, and is in what might be charitably viewed as a nascent state of development (Land, 1975). As neither social scientists nor educators agree on basic "theories" of social and educational change, the choices presented here can only be viewed as arbitrary, yet defensible in terms of the need for comprehensiveness, the need for critical synthesis, and the state of the literature (Smith, 1973).

In any attempt to suggest relationships between shared values and research traditions, and diagnostic and prescriptive orientations, the concept of paradigm is helpful. Kuhn (1970) defines paradigms as the way a scientific/professional community views a field of study, identifies appropriate problems for study, and specifies legitimate concepts and methods. He contends that:

> Men whose research is based on shared paradigms are committed to the same rules and standards . . . and continuation of a particular research tradition . . . paradigm is a criterion for choosing problems that, while the paradigm is taken for granted, can be assumed to have solutions. To a great extent, these are the only problems that the community will admit as scientific or encourage its members to undertake. A paradigm can even isolate the community from those socially important problems that are not reducible to the puzzle form, because they cannot be stated in terms of the conceptual and instrumental tools the paradigm supplies.

Effrat (1972) contends that Kuhn's theoretical speculations on paradigm shift are useful, but "too rational" and his revolutions are "too bloodless." Rather, Effrat argues that "scientific schools seem more akin to ideological movements. . . . That scientific discourse and activity is more like ideological polemics . . . in effect, that scientific conflict is a form of ideological warfare" (p. 11).

While I am largely in agreement with this position, a number of implications should be made explicit. The first concerns the need for caution, for radical scepticism about any theoretical school's popularity, access to public relations, and institutional power bases, as well as to the theory's explanatory and predictive power. A second would suggest, in Effrat's words, "the need to examine a paradigm, or theoretical perspective, for its core values and philosophical roots in order to gain insight into the perspective" and, perhaps, to develop insight into unexamined implications of the theory. A third implication concerns the need for adherents to advance their theoretical school's relative standing vis à vis competing paradigms, or, in general, to develop one's school as far as possible both logically and empirically, and, when possible, to co-opt and subsume other theoretical positions.

---

1. Delmore Schwartz, *Genesis: Book One* (New York: New Directions, 1943), p. 6.

Figure 2

STAGE OF CULTURAL EVOLUTION AND TYPE OF SCHOOLING

Type of Culture	Type of Education: Non-Teacher All Individuals General 1	Non-Teacher Some Individuals Special 2	Non-Teacher All Individuals Special 3	Non-Teacher Some Individuals General 4	Teacher Some Individuals General 5	Teacher Some Individuals Special 6	Teacher All Individuals Special 7	Teacher All Individuals General 8
1. Restricted Wandering	X	X?						
2. Central-Based Wandering	X	X						
3. Semi-Permanent Sedentary	X	X	X					
4. Simple Nuclear Centered	X	X	X	X				
5. Advanced Nuclear Centered	X	X	X	X	X	X		
6. Simple Supra-Nuclear Integrated	X	X		X	X	X	X	
7. Advanced Supra-Nuclear Integrated	X	X		X	X	X	X	X

Source: Wilson (1973), p. 225.

In the field of social change, the long dominant functional or "equilibrium" paradigm has, in this regard, come under increasing attack by adherents of conflict theory (Horton, 1966; Applebaum, 1970; Zaltman, 1973). And as educational change is commonly viewed as a part of the larger field of social change, this competition between the equilibrium and conflict orientations has recently also emerged in attempts to explain educational-reform efforts from the perspective of both paradigms (Collins, 1971; Vaughan and Archer, 1971; Kazamias and Schwartz, 1973; Simonds, 1973; Levin, August, 1974; and Zachariah, 1975).

The "equilibrium" paradigm is generally viewed as encompassing a number of different theories that focus on particular questions, methods, and phenomena while all share certain core assumptions about social reality, values, and research (Sorokin, 1936; Russett, 1966). Evolutionary and neo-evolutionary theory, for example, draw on notions of biological evolution and "explain" social and educational change largely in terms of progression to higher stages of social and cultural differentiation and specialization (Persons, 1950; Steward, 1955; Schneider, 1961; G. Wilson, 1965; King, 1966; Isard, 1975). Functionalist theory is more concerned with harmonious relations between the components of social systems and emphasizes smooth, cumulative change (Emerson, 1964). Attempts to apply systems models in educational-change efforts draw on key notions from both neo-evolutionary and functionalist theory to explain relationships within the educational system and between the educational system and its socioeconomic context (Buckley, 1967; Bertalanffy, 1968).

Theories that cluster more or less within the conflict paradigm emphasize the inherent instability of social systems and the conflicts over values, resources, and power that follow as a natural consequence. Marxists and neo-Marxists emphasize economic conflict; students of cultural revitalization processes are primarily concerned with conflicting value and cultural systems; and writers using anarchistic -utopian frameworks are variously concerned with conflict arising from oppressive institutions and imperfect human nature.

With this brief introduction, we shall now turn to a more detailed examination of what the literature can tell us about these six theoretical perspectives on educational change.

EVOLUTIONARY AND NEO-EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Classical evolutionary theories are strongly influenced by Darwin's work on biological evolution and seek sociological analogues to the living organism (L. Ward, 1904; Parsons, 1964). They are characterized by notions of progress, by stages of development from lower- to higher-order forms. Society is viewed as an organism with specialized structures facilitating survival. Education, as an "integrative" structure, functions to maintain stability and changes from "simple" or "primitive" forms to more complex "modern" forms in response to change in other structures. Thus as societies "progress" or become increasingly differentiated (here evolutionists borrow the biologists' exact terminology), educational systems come under increasing pressure to specialize and adapt.

As a *post-hoc* description of social change, evolutionary theory failed to square with the mass of anthropological data accumulated before World War I. With decolonization and the rise of quasi-evolutionary "modernization" theories in the post-World War II period, anthropologists and others attempted to rework evolutionary theory as, for example, in the work of Steward, White, Sahlins, Tax, and Dobzhansky, among others as cited in Stewart, 1955; Leontief, 1963; Hempel,

1966; Rhodes, 1968; Applebaum, 1970; and Phillips, 1971. Neo-evolutionists have sought to deal with cultural diversity through shifts from unilinear to multilinear change process, and with efforts to account for both diversity and cumulative change (Lowrie, 1971; Philips 1971; Shipman, 1971; Aran, 1972).

Although there is no theory of educational change rooted directly in evolutionary theory per se, it is of interest to note Durkheim's (1956) proposal of over 50 years ago for scientific study to ascertain the "laws" covering evolutionary change in educational systems:

> Educational practices are not phenomena that are isolated from one another; rather, for a given society, they are bound up in the same system all the parts of which contribute toward the same end: it is the system of education suitable to this country and to this time. Each people has its own, as it has its own moral, religious, economic system, etc. But on the other hand, peoples of the same kind, that is to say, people who resemble one another with respect to essential characteristics of their constitutions, should practice comparable systems of education. The similarities in their general organization should necessarily lead to others of equal importance in their educational organization. Consequently, through comparison, by abstracting the similarities and eliminating the differences from them, one can certainly establish the generic types of education which correspond to the different types of societies. . . . Once the types were established, we would have to explain them, that is to say, to seek out the conditions on which the characteristic traits of each of them depended, and how they have emerged from one another. One would thus obtain the laws which govern the evolution of systems of education. One would be able to perceive, then, both how education developed and what the causes are which have determined this development and which account for it (pp. 95-98).

Evolutionary theory in education, according to Durkheim, will be most useful as a framework to facilitate comparisons and the linking-up of the stages of social evolution, or development, on the one side, and the corresponding "generic" types of education, or stages of educational development, on the other side.

Durkheim's call to relate social and educational evolution has recently received recognition from a number of scholars studying various aspects of educational "progress" and "modernization." Wilson, for example, (1973) has tried "to identify a set of criteria upon which the evolutionary stages of education may be established and to trace in broad outline a sequence of evolutionary stages of education from the least developed cultures to the most advanced" (p. 11). Figure 2 represents his attempt "to empirically establish the relationship between different levels of culture and different levels of education." The figure presents a scaleogram of levels of cultural differentiation on the left side, and of educational structural differentiation across the top. Although Wilson argues that: "functional requisites at a given level of culture . . . make a particular type of education necessary for that culture to exist" and seeks "to establish causes" to account for the emergence of eight types of education, he is unable to do so and concludes by claiming no more for an "evolutionary theory of education" than that it "provides us with insights and understandings about the nature of education which could not be obtained by

other approaches" (p. 258).

Thomas (1968) has identified four theories of instruction embodied in four different types of schooling: memorizing, training, intellect developing, and problem solving. Each type is viewed as having "integrity, distinctive emphasis, and logical coherence." Although Thomas, in contrast to Wilson, makes no direct claim for multilinear evolution of school types, he proposes a research agenda that frames a number of questions in neo-evolutionary perspective. "What characteristics of a society—economic, political and cultural—appear to be associated, in ways that suggest consequential relationships, with long-established schools of a distinctive type. Which type of schooling at advanced levels is most often associated . . . with autocratic leadership . . . self-reliant entrepreneurs . . . rebellions and revolutions?" (p. 24).

The answers, Thomas contends, will be found in the hypothetical relations of types of schooling to the significant dimensions on which national societies differ: i.e., from a traditional and authoritarian stage with "cultural resistance to technological innovation" to an implicitly superior, open, democratic and pluralistic stage characterized by "enthusiasm for innovation, creativity . . . and cultural eagerness for technological advance" (pp. 15, 32).

Where Thomas proposes a causal sequence between type (and implied stage) of schooling and national development, Beeby (1966) argues that "there are certain stages of growth through which all school systems must pass; although a system may be helped to speed up its progress, it cannot leapfrog a stage or a major portion of a stage because its position on the stage of development is determined by two factors, the level of general education of the teachers, and the amount of training they have received" (p. 69). Beeby's unilinear evolutionary model of stages in the growth of a primary school system is presented in Figure 3.

Beeby also specifies implications of his evolutionary model for planning large-scale change in schools:

> The fate of nationwide reforms in classroom practice leads to the conclusion that only those had a hope of success which were based on the recognition that schools and teachers in the system were not all at the same state of development. . . . It was easy enough to establish almost any practice in pilot schools with able and enthusiastic staffs, but constant adjustments had to be made as it percolated through to teachers who, for one reason or another, were less capable of handling innovations and the ideas embodied in them (pp. 87-88).

Assuming the validity of his model, Beeby has presented a three-phase approach to educational reform at the country level:

> (1) Diagnosis . . . set the school system within some such framework as is provided by the hypothesis of states; (2) Strategy . . . Ask three major questions: a) What proportion of the national budget shall be allotted to education? b) what demand shall the national plan make on the educational system? c) . . . how shall these demands be met?; and (3) Tactics . . . any attempt to reform . . . is most likely to succeed if it is part of a nationwide movement for the improvement of social and eco-

nomic conditions, if it is known to be warmly supported by the ministry of education at all levels, as well as by the teachers' own organizations, if steps have been taken to make the parents understand the changes, and if the teacher can be made to feel himself less isolated in his classroom. . . . The effect common to all these factors is the added sense of security in a changing situation which they give to the teacher (pp. 113, 117-118, 127).

Kimball (1974), an educational anthropologist, contends that Darwin's natural history approach is of "immense significance" in understanding the enterprise of education, as well as in "the crisis of reforming our educational system to conform to the realities of an ever-changing world." He forcefully argues that "the full impact of Darwin's contribution to education has yet to be realized. It is to be

Figure 3

STAGES IN THE GROWTH OF A PRIMARY SCHOOL SYSTEM

(1) Stage	(2) Teachers	(3) Characteristics
1. Dame School	Ill-educated, untrained	Unorganized, relatively meaningless symbols; very narrow subject content – 3 R's; very low standards; memorizing all-important.
2. Formalism	Ill-educated, trained	Highly organized; symbols with limited meaning; rigid syllabus; emphasis on 3 R's; rigid methods – "one best way"; one textbook; external examinations; inspection stressed; discipline tight and external; memorizing heavily stressed; emotional life largely ignored.
3. Transition	Better-educated, trained	Roughly same goals as stage 2, but more efficiently achieved; more emphasis on meaning, but it is still rather "thin" and formal; syllabus and textbooks less restrictive, but teachers hesitate to use greater freedom; final leaving examination often restricts experimentation; little in classroom to cater for emotional and creative life of child.
4. Meaning	Well-educated, well-trained	Meaning and understanding stressed; somewhat wider curriculum, variety of content and methods; individual differences catered for; activity methods, problem solving and creativity; internal tests; relaxed and positive discipline; emotional and aesthetic life, as well as intellectual; closer relations with community; better buildings and equipment essential.

Source: Beeby (1966), p. 72.

found in the application of the method of natural history to the method and theory of education." Kimball views major tenets of the method as follows: "Change is the law of life. . . . insistence upon the orderliness of the universe. . . . recognition that the physical, organic, and cultural worlds constitute systems, and within each of them there is a great variety of subsystems, all of which contain their own internal logics and dynamics" (pp. 73-74). In sum, according to Kimball, Darwin's natural-history method provides a method *par excellence* for obtaining, organizing, and transmitting knowledge; i.e., "a method of understanding change" as well as, more explicitly, a method that "can be utilized to modernize our educational system" (p. 73).

Although somewhat less central to our questions of induced change in educational systems, two examples of work with strong neo-evolutionary bias might also be mentioned to complete this section.

Cohen's "Schools and Civilizational States" (1970) explores the roles of schools in evolutionary and synchronic terms and, using a natural-history approach, attempts to demonstrate "how school systems grow out of conditions which are created by the emergence of civilizational states." For Cohen, schools are essentially conservative institutions that indicate a uniform and standard system of symbols "to which all can be trained to respond uniformly." This, he contends, supports the establishment of a national ideology of uniformity among the polity as social organization evolves "in a grand movement, or sweep" from the most "primitive levels . . . to the level represented by modern civilizational states."

In contrast to Beeby's model, Cohen's historical-functional and evolutionary analysis has little to offer educational planners. He contends it is axiomatic that the development, reform, and elaboration of particular institutions such as schools "is an aspect of the natural history of a society, or of the stage of cultural development of which it is representative. . . . that man has little (if any) deliberate and conscious control over the emergence or loss of specific institutions in society. All other things being equal, such as the limitations of the natural environment, he acts out of the inexorable dictates of the stage of cultural development reached by his society" (p. 57).

In Cohen's model (see Figure 4), each circle represents a state, and together they constitute a "civilizational network." The cross-hatched area of overlap represents their major spheres of interdependence. In states entering into civilizational networks, Cohen contends that schools are called upon to undertake new roles and tasks such as the religious-ideological legitimization for national integration and central authority; the preparation of new elites; the inculcation and adoption of universalistic values, criteria, and standards of performance; and the like. Thus schools are created in response to "the pressures emanating from the interdependence of nations in civilizational networks" (p. 90). It is worth noting that Cohen, as do most evolutionists, dismisses the possibility that cultural elites create and use schools to legitimize and preserve privilege. Rather, he stresses that "civilizational" states do not develop systems *in order* to maintain social distance between elites and commoners. Schools are adopted as adaptive mechanisms in response to the pressures engendered by the mutual intersocietal dependence of culture-sectors within a civilizational network. Once established for these purposes they become integrated into the stratification system" (pp. 90-91).

Butts (1967) in his study "Civilization Building and the Modernization Process" is also concerned with supposedly causal relations between levels of "civilization" and types of school systems. He proposes that the history of education "and, indirectly, of educational reform" should become the study of

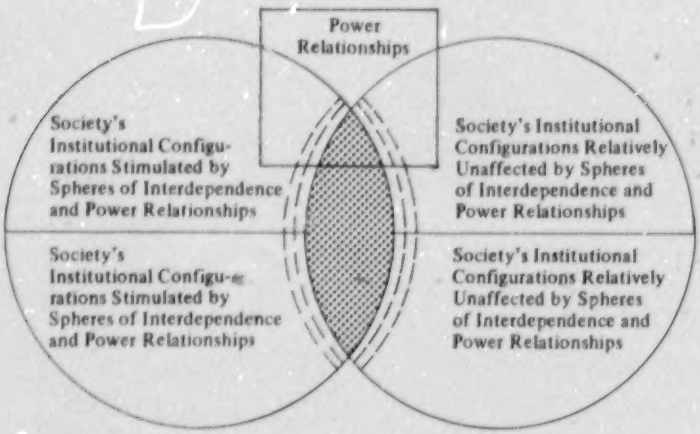
educational contributions to four major transformations in human society and, especially to the current stage of "World-Wide Civilization, as modern civilization spreads to all parts of the world, producing thereby a world-wide ecumene" (p. 164). For Butts the modernization process in education occurs when folk societies look to the industrial nations for assistance in social, technological, and educational development. And Western educational models, he contends, will help to provide underprivileged people with a greater share than they now have of the "promises of human dignity and welfare."

Thus Butts, as do the neo-evolutionists in general (Lowe, 1971), argues an essentially neo-colonialist position where educational-system reforms in developing countries should be patterned on experiences and models from the advanced technological societies where, he contends, man has gained "unprecedented control over his environment." The model is similar to that of Rostow (1960) who assumes the correctness of the same one-way dependency relationships for socioeconomic and educational "development."

Prescriptions for educational-change strategies from evolutionary and neo-evolutionary perspectives can only be viewed as having, at best, marginal utility for educational planners and reformers attempting to descend from the heights of generality and intuition to the concreteness of specific needs to change priorities and programs. The theory is difficult to test, it explains little, and it is virtually useless for prediction (Rhodes, 1968; D. C. Phillips, 1975). In addition, evolutionary assumptions about the unidimensionality of modernization processes seem clearly refuted by the recent efforts in a number of developing countries to radically reform and restructure their educational systems in highly inventive ways that are largely unrelated to educational practice in the developed countries. Examples are clearly evident in China's commune schools, Cuba's residential JHS schools in the countryside, and Tanzania's Ujamaa community schools, among others.

Figure 4

PARADIGMATIC ILLUSTRATION OF RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN TWO HYPOTHETICAL CIVILIZATIONAL STATES


Power Relationships
Society's Institutional Configurations Stimulated by Spheres of Interdependence and Power Relationships
Society's Institutional Configurations Relatively Unaffected by Spheres of Interdependence and Power Relationships
Society's Institutional Configurations Stimulated by Spheres of Interdependence and Power Relationships
Society's Institutional Configurations Relatively Unaffected by Spheres of Interdependence and Power Relationships

Source: Cohen (1970), p. 65.

STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONAL THEORY

Although the structural-functional, or S/F, framework is a discrete set of interrelated assumptions about values, norms, and appropriate questions and methods, it is to a considerable degree a twentieth-century version of evolutionary theory. But where the evolutionists placed primary emphasis on linked stages of socioeconomic and cultural development, the S/F theorists focus on the homeostatic or balancing mechanisms by which societies maintain a "uniform state." Both theories view societies as essentially stable yet highly complex and differentiated. As the values embodied in institutions such as the educational subsystem are viewed as extremely durable, boundary exchanges between the subsystem and the environment will be equilibrating—i.e., they will tend toward "balance."

Both evolutionary and S/F theorists share a strong conservative bias toward the undesirability of any but adaptive change. A system imbalance should require no more than small incremental adjustments. Major forces for change are, accordingly, viewed as essentially exogenous to the system, and intra-system conflict is usually viewed as pathological, as an indicator of systemic breakdown. Homans (1950) might be quoted here as one of the most articulate exponents of the need for and possibility of such "moving equilibrium"; "A social system is in moving equilibrium and authority exists when the state of the elements that enter the system and of the relations between them, including the behavior of the leader, is such that disobedience to the orders of the leader will be followed by changes in the other elements tending to bring the system back to the state the leader would have wished it to reach if the disobedience had not taken place" (p. 422).

We should also note that S/F theorists and those proposing change in social and educational systems using S/F orientations not only accept inequality in society, but see it as a necessary condition to maintain the existing normative order. Davis (1949) has captured this core belief of the S/F world view in his statement that "social inequality is . . . an unconsciously evolved device by which societies insure that the most important positions are conscientiously filled by the most qualified persons" (p. 367). Thus the attainment of rewards of power and privilege is viewed as a function of the degree to which people are able to contribute, and as people necessarily differ in motivation and endowment, inequality is accordingly inevitable. For functionalists, inequality as reflected by social and educational stratification arises basically out of the needs of societies, not out of the vested interests of individuals or groups (Lenski, 1966). Thus, functionalists contend that inequality is not only inevitable, but necessary and beneficial to all since individual survival is contingent on the survival and well-being of society.

As the dominant social-change orientation in American social science for the past half-century or so, S/F theory—and its refined version in systems theory—has powerfully influenced American views of how educational systems function and why they change, as well as what are appropriate and valid educational-reform goals, strategies, and tactics.

The sociologist Talcott Parsons (1951; 1966; 1970) has in this regard written extensively from both evolutionary and structural-functional perspectives concerning pattern maintenance and change in education. There is, in addition, an extensive literature built on Parsons' general model and on attempts to operationalize it in numerous case studies of educational "modernization" (Adams, 1970; Larkin, 1970; Shipman, 1973). At the individual level, Parsons views education as the process by which, through special institutional arrangements and formal procedures, individuals come to "know," "command," and/or become "committed to"

important elements of the cultural tradition of the society. At the social-system level, schools as pattern-maintenance institutions lack autonomy and are heavily dependent on the larger society for resources and legitimation. Society, in exchange, depends on schools to continue the socialization begun by the family and thus to provide intergenerational continuity, a necessary condition for societal survival.

According to the structural-functionist view, when change or reform occurs in the educational subsystem, it is the result of interaction between society and the schools and follows in some five steps: (1) a need arises in society; (2) the school is assigned the task of meeting the need; (3) change in the educational structure takes place to accommodate the new function; (4) the new role is assumed by schools; and (5) latent and manifest changes take place in society as a consequence of the new educational functions. Thus schools may introduce significant changes into society, but because schools are only passively related to social change, they serve essentially conservative functions and tend to reinforce the status quo (Hopper, 1968). And efforts of educational reformers to use schools in meliorative ways will, accordingly, be largely unsuccessful. As Larkin (1970) notes, S/F theory maintains that: "the school is not and cannot be an innovator because of its dependency relationship to the larger society. Educators cannot institute change without the consent of the voters. . . . No matter how much funded knowledge and research indicate the necessity for change, programs must be acceptable to the public. Because the success of an educational program depends on wide public acceptance, it is difficult for innovation to occur in education" (p. 119).

In sum, the S/F view holds that substantial educational change will only be possible when preceded by a significant change in the normative structure of a society, when schools are allowed to take on new major functions not directly related to socialization, or when the public is willing to grant schools greater autonomy and freedom to develop alternative structures and directions. The evidence, according to Dubos (1963), is that such a *Zeitgeist* in nonrevolutionary societies comes into being only rarely, i.e., at times of rapid and intense social changes as occurred during the early Renaissance and in the Enlightenment.

Given the constraints on substantial educational reform, and because the vast majority of U.S. educational planners and reformers subscribe to these guiding S/F assumptions, educational-reform efforts in the U.S. as well as those under U.S. control overseas have essentially sought incremental alterations in existing systems (USAID, 1973; World Bank, 1973). This effort to bring educational programs into more harmonious relations with socioeconomic development efforts at the national level is, perhaps, best illustrated by the use of human-capital theory to explain educational change during the 1960s. This development strategy builds on neo-evolutionary and S/F theory while focusing on the educational sector's critical role in preparing skilled manpower, innovators, entrepreneurs, and the like for social-economic modernization, using Western models, and for economic growth using neoclassical market analysis (Becker, 1960; Schultz, 1961; Anderson & Bowman, 1965; Vaizey, 1972; Harbison, 1975).

Efforts to use human-capital theory to guide educational-reform efforts in the recent so-called "War on Poverty" in the U.S. and in U.S. technical-assistance projects abroad have produced a vast literature which in varying degrees attempts to wed general equilibrium theory in economics to S/F theory in the area of social change. The theory's critical concern with the rate of return to human capital places a primary responsibility on education in schools, on nonformal educational programs, and on the family to contribute toward "human-resource" development.

The task of educational reform is, accordingly, to facilitate investment in personal development and to produce "better" workers within the context of the existing educational and social systems. As the distribution of income is essentially determined by labor-supply conditions, the expansion of educational opportunity will, according to human-capital theory, increase the ability of education to equalize competition for economic resources (Simmons, 1974).

Human-capital theory, as a branch of capital theory, views each student and worker as a proto-capitalist, and avoids mention of structured inequality, social-class hierarchies, and class conflicts. Moreover it generally assumes social consensus concerning the national ideology, the legitimacy of the social hierarchy, and the allocation of rewards and resources. As such, human-capital theory is anathema to Marxists and socialists who reject the notion that educational reform, or more commonly, educational innovations, reflect responses to the market's demand for technically defined skills. Bowles and Gintis (1975), for example, have recently argued that:

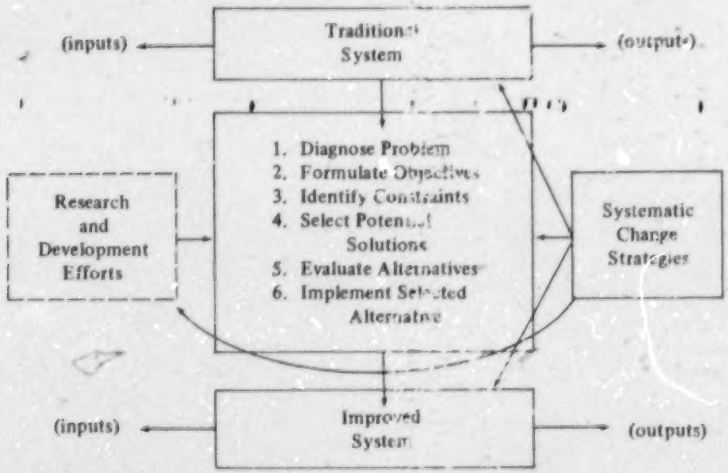
> the social organization of schooling can in no way be depicted as the result of an aggregation of individual choices. The history of educational innovation indicates clearly that the social relations of education were rarely a reflection of popular demands. . . . [that] the production of "better workers" cannot be understood simply by reference to how individual worker skills are related to individual worker productivities. . . . [that] the educational system does much more than produce human capital. It segments the work force, forestalls the development of working class consciousness, and legitimates economic inequality by providing an open, objective and ostensibly meritocratic system for assigning individuals to unequal occupational positions . . . . This framework presents an elegant apologia for almost any pattern of oppression or inequality (under capitalism, state socialism, or whatever), for it ultimately attributes social or personal ills either to the shortcomings of individuals or the unavoidable technical requisites of production. It provides, in short, a good ideology for the defense of the status quo (pp. 77, 78, 82).

SYSTEMS THEORY

General systems theory represents an attempt to build on the fields of biology, cybernetics, and information and communication theory in order to move beyond the conceptual and explanatory limitations of S/F theory (Bertalanffy, 1962; Cadwallader, 1968). Widespread efforts to apply notions of systems theory to describe and predict educational-change phenomena during the past fifteen years have also been concerned with developing systems analysis as a technique for decision-making and for innovation in classrooms (Watson, 1967; D. K. Cohen, 1975; Pareek, 1975). As such, the theory applied to education falls outside of this review. The systems perspective has also occasionally been used in the diagnosis and planning of national and regional educational-reform efforts, and in this regard we

Figure 5

A RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY FOR PLANNED EDUCATIONAL CHANGE



Source: Bushnell (1971), p. 10

will need to briefly note basic assumptions of the approach as it relates to educational-reform "causes" and "effects" (Ad[illegible], 1970; Morgan, 1971; Wirosuhardjo, 1971; Balchski, 1973; Elboim-Dror, 1975).

Bushnell's (1971) work, "Planned Change In Education: A Systems Approach," offers an illustrative summary of assumptions and "constructive alternatives" underlying the claims of systems theory to hold promise for a "more rapid adaptation of our public schools to the demands of a modern society."

From the systems perspective, the need for reform arises with evidence of system "malfunctioning." Using the example of a stock-market broker, Bushnell presents an "information flow model" to provide the structure or network of communication flow between all participants in the school system from students to taxpayers. Given this precondition, six steps are proposed as a "research and development" change "process" (see Figure 5).

The recent OECD four-volume study of strategies for innovation (CERI, 1973) critically examines case studies of evaluation in a number of North American and Western European countries that use the "R&D" or systems model in educational-change efforts. This work is a major advance on studies to date that have used the systems model. It is comparative, it examines innovations and reforms at the school, regional, and national levels, and it actually attempts to assess the political, administrative, and organizational dimensions of educational-change processes. Summary steps and findings for planning, research, development,

and diffusion approaches in the CERI planning, research, development and diffusion, or P-R-D-D, model in "central" or national institutions are presented in Figure 6.

The work also identifies categories of educational change according to the type of change strategies employed as is shown in Figure 7. There Category 1 represents reforms seeking changes in educational priorities, objectives, and functions; Category 2 represents reforms seeking new organizational or administrative arrangements; Category 3 represents attempts to improve the system's problem-solving capabilities, as in organizational development approaches stressing the normative-reeducative strategy; and Category 4 represents curriculum-reform efforts.

Thus the problem of educational change for those who see the world in structural-functional and systems terms is essentially one of rationalizing existing education systems through the introduction of innovations that respond both to new social needs and to the need for greater efficiency in ongoing functions (R. E. Miller, 1967; Hoos, 1968; Kochman, 1969; Martorana, 1974; McLaughlin, 1974 & 1975). The vast literature on educational innovation produced in the United States by behavioral and social scientists and educators during the past two decades is almost entirely framed within these assumptions (Bertrand, 1968; Gross, 1968; James, 1969; Miller, 1970; Kettering, 1971; Orlosky, 1971; Trow, 1971; Hanson, 1972; Simonds, 1973; Wittrock, 1973; Bentzen, 1974; Howey, 1975). As to our more specific concern to ascertain whether there is some optimal condition of system prior to the introduction of an innovation ("reforms," it should be remembered, pose—from functionalist views—unrealistic demands on schools), systems theorists offer few generalizations about optimal pre-innovative stages in target systems (House, 1971). In an outstanding synthesis of the field, Miles (1963), for example, over a decade ago found the developmental process of installing, choosing, and justifying an innovation to be a sensitive area. He notes that despite the obvious need for continuing technical attention to this problem (he does not raise the moral dilemmas involved in who chooses "what" for "whom") that: "for various reasons—perhaps connected with existing educational ideology—deliberate planning of change is more often than not slighted, rejected as "manipulative" or ignored completely. Often much more attention is put on constructing the innovation itself than planning and carrying out the strategy for gaining its adoption" (p. 647).

When one examines the vast literature on education-change efforts in the decade following Miles' assessment of the field, it is clear that the research and development model in vogue during the 1960s largely concentrated on the change process in isolation and continues to ignore the problem of who determines a system "malfunction" (Oettinger, 1969). Herzog (quoted in CERI, 1973) criticizes the P-R-D-D or systems model as being "naively profession-o-centric" in viewing "schools as objects to be manipulated." Systems approaches, he contends, "fail to recognize that most people are attached to whatever they are doing because they believe in the value of it, not because they are resistant to change" (p. 37), and when systems approaches are used in technical assistance efforts overseas, the problem is often compounded by chauvinism as well. Leontief (1963), a pioneer in input-output analysis, claims, for example, that "the process of development consists essentially in the installation and building of an approximation of the system embodied in the advanced economies of the U.S. and Western Europe, and more recently, of the USSR" (p. 159). Only rarely have those involved in planning change attempted to identify, include, and operationalize contextual variables such

Figure 6

INSTITUTIONAL* STRATEGIES FOR EDUCATIONAL CHANGE USING THE PLANNING-RESEARCH-DEVELOPMENT-DIFFUSION MODEL

	Reform Steps						
P-R-D-D Model Institutions	1 Problem identification and definition	2 Innovation planning	3 Innovation programming and development	4 Experimentation	5 Evaluation and revision	6 Dissemination and production	7 Implementation
RBS	Process not related to political process and educational system	Very Careful project planning	Systematic construction and development cycles	Experimentation in schools as test of prototype material	Use of formal evaluation techniques	Dissemination through material production	Implementation through personnel training
New Jersey	Connected with political decision-making	Not according to model	Varies according to projects	Extensive field experiments used as major development phase	Based on informal evaluation procedures	Not far developed	Not far developed
Schools Council	Slow process dependent on committee work not related to school system or political process	Careful project planning	Varies from project to project	Extensive school experimentation used as major development phase	Partly by formal evaluation	Considerable publishing and use of media	Not task for Schools Council
NBE	Systematic process related to central political decision-making	Careful project planning	Systematic development cycles	Extensive school experimentation, mainly as test of prototype material	Use of formal evaluation methods	Through material production, use of media, and curriculum guidelines	Teacher training and in-service training, follow-up projects
NCIE	Related to political decision-making and educational system	Careful project planning	Varies from project to project. Systematic construction and development cycles in major projects	Extensive school experimentation partly as part of development phase	Partly formal evaluation methods	Production of material	Not task for NCIE except for follow-up projects in teacher pre-service training

OISE	Not related to political decision-making or formal education systems	By international committees; solid research base	Differs from project to project	Some school experimentation	Partly formal evaluation methods	Dissemination of reports and textbooks	Assistance in implementation through regional centres and otherwise
BRP	Close relationship to political decision-making		Model not applicable				

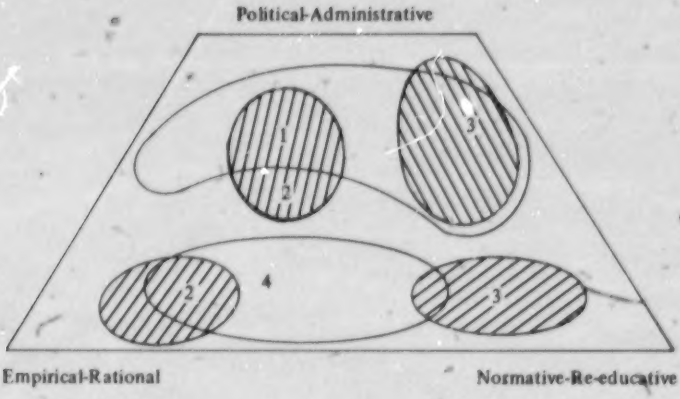
Institutions

*RBS = Research for Better Schools, Inc., USA
New Jersey = State Education Department, USA
The Schools Council = England and Wales
NBE = National Swedish Board of Education
NCIE = Norwegian National Council for Innovation in Education
OISE = Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (Canada)
BRP = Bavarian State Institute for Educational Research and Planning

Source: CERI (1973), p. 108

Figure 7

CATEGORIES OF EDUCATIONAL CHANGE BY TYPE OF CHANGE STRATEGY



Source: CERI (1973), p. 112.

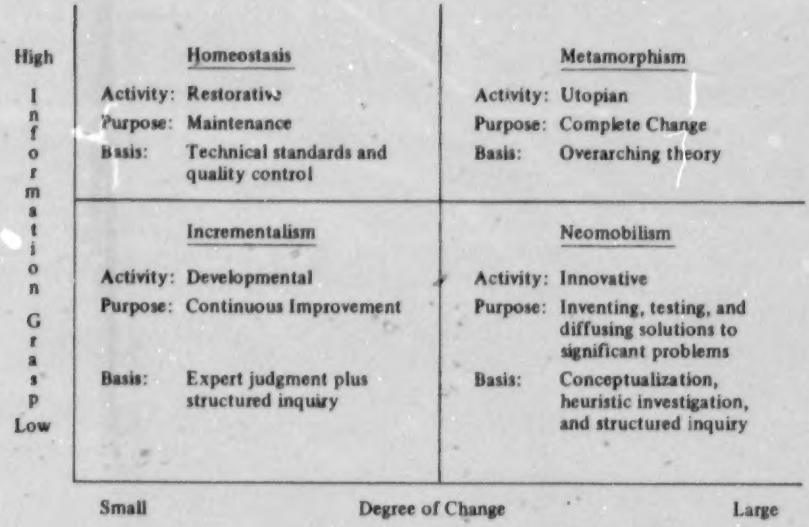
as competing ideologies, power, value dis-census, and the like, which might question the conservative notions of equilibrium and consensus inherent in the functionalist-cum-systems perspective (Smith, 1973; Bentzen, 1974). Stufflebeam's systems-conservation bias (see Figure 8) of why and how change occurs in educational systems is illustrative.

Fox and Schachter and Fox (1975) have attempted to refine and advance systems theory in ways that will permit dynamic descriptions of structural-change processes. They argue that "structural change is the *sine qua non* of true growth, yet models that predict structural change have not been developed" (p. 41). The problem, they contend, lies largely in the limitations of applied systems theory where "traditional input-out analysis carries with it the burdens of 1) the assumption of linearity, 2) the requirements of quasi-stationary time series and of data, good in quantity and quality, 3) its intrinsically descriptive, non-projective characteristic, i.e., it has no provision for predicting structural change, 4) its assumption of the U.S. economy as a normative goal of development, and 5) its positivist orientation, that is, it provides no insight into mechanisms of the socio-economy—it is a black-box, operational method" (p. 41).

In a broad critique of the equilibrium paradigm, Smith (1973) perceptively analyzes the post-1960 work of neo-evolutionists and S/F theorists that tries to account for violence, conflict, and revolution, i.e., the phenomena that functionalism has been accused of neglecting while concentrating on value-integration and continuity in social forms via "moving equilibrium." Despite efforts by S. N. Eisenstadt (Aran, 1972), T. Parsons (Larkin, 1970), and N. Smelser (1971), among others, to elaborate new, more powerful evolutionary accounts of social change (i.e., change viewed as an endogenous, cumulative process of natural growth arising inevitably out of the social structures' inherent tendency toward differentiation of parts, ensuing strains and tensions, and adaptive reintegrations that are in effect

Figure 8

DECISION SETTINGS GOVERNING ANALYSIS AND CHOICE IN EDUCATIONAL CHANGE



Source: Stufflebeam et al. (1971), p. 62.

social change, etc.), Smith (1973) convincingly argues that all the liabilities of functionalism as an explanatory framework also attend these neo-evolutionary efforts.

He argues that their "frozen" evolutionism presents only the illusion of accounting for social change. It is unable to account for exogenous factors and novelty in social form, to demonstrate significant relationships, to show the mechanism of historical transition, or to describe the pathway of change, its causes, rates of change, or other key variables. Instead, he argues, it offers only comparative statistics and "the comforting illusion of accounting for social change" (p. 7). His assessment of defining characteristics of "order" and "conflict" theories builds rather closely on the study of Horton (1966), a work that is summarized in Figure 9.

Critics have also faulted the use of equilibrium theories supporting development efforts in African, Asian, and Latin American contexts on the grounds that they are, *inter alia:* (1) ethnocentric; (2) either grand theorizing innocent of local historical knowledge, or abstracted empiricism; (3) trivial; and (4) unable to account for mutative changes which overthrow the rules of the game by which the social system maintains and legitimizes existing ideology and structures. Friedman's (1963) critique of an equilibrium model in economics underscores something of the difficulty in attempts to ground educational-change efforts in this perspective. He contends that "the model may be useful for analysis, but it ceases to be pertinent

Figure 9

ORDER AND CONFLICT THEORIES OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS AS COMPETING IDEOLOGIES

Order Perspective	Conflict Perspective
1. Underlying Social Perspective and Value Positions (Ideal)	
a. Image of man and society	
Society as a natural boundary-maintaining system of action	Society as a contested struggle between groups with opposed aims and perspectives
Transcendent nature of society, an entity *sui generis*, greater than and different from the sum of its parts; lack of transcendence as lack of social control means anomy	Immanent conception of society and the social relationship; men are society; society is the extension of man, the indwelling of man; the transcendence of society is tantamount to the alienation of man from his own social nature
Positive attitude toward the maintenance of social institutions	Positive attitude toward change
b. Human nature	
Homo duplex, man half egoistic (self-nature), half altruistic (socialized nature), ever in need of restraints for the collective good or *Tabula rasa*, man equated with the socialization process or *Homo damnatus*, the division into morally superior and morally inferior men	*Homo laborans*, existential man, the active creator of himself and society through practical and autonomous social action
c. Values	
The social good: balance, stability, authority, order, quantitative growth ("moving equilibrium")	Freedom as autonomy, change, action, qualitative growth
2. Modes of "Scientific" Analysis	
Natural-science model: quest for general and universal laws and repeated patterns gleaned through empirical research	Historical model: quest for understanding (Verstehen) through historical analysis of unique and changing events; possible use of ideal type of generalization based on historically specific patterns
Structural-functional analysis	
Multiple causality; theory characterized by high level of abstraction, but empirical studies marked by low level of generalization (separation of theory from application)	Unicausality; high or low level of theoretical generalization; union of theory and practice in social research and social action
Conditions of objectivity; accurate correspondence of concepts to facts; rigid separation of observer and facts observed—passive, receptive theory of knowledge	Utility in terms of observer's interests; objectivity discussed in the context of subjectivity—activistic theory of knowledge
Analysis begins with culture as major determinant of order and structure and proceeds to personality and social organization	Analysis begins with organization of social activities or with growth and maintenance needs of man and proceeds to culture

Dominant concepts: ahistorical; high level of generality; holistic; supra-individual concepts; ultimate referent for concepts—system needs considered universally (i.e., the functional prerequisites of any social system) or relativistically (i.e., present maintenance requirements of a particular social system)	Historical, dynamic; low level of generality and high level of historical specificity; ultimate referent for concepts—human needs considered universally (i.e., man's species nature) or relativistically (demands of particular contenders for power); referent often the future or an unrealized state of affairs

3. Order and Conflict Theories of Social Problems and Deviation

a. *Standards for the definition of health and pathology*	
Health equated with existing values of a postulated society (or a dominant group in the society), ideological definition	Health equated with unrealized standards (the aspirations of subordinate but rising groups), utopian definition
b. *Evaluation of deviant behavior*	
Pathological to the functioning of the social system	Possibly progressive to the necessary transformation of existing relationships
c. *Explanation of deviation or a social problem*	
A problem of anomy in adequate control over competing groups in the social system; disequilibrium in the existing society	A problem of self-alienation, being thwarted in the realization of individual and group goals; a problem of illegitimate social control and exploitation
d. *Implied ameliorative action*	
Extension of social control (further and more efficient institutionalization of social system values); adjustment of individuals to system needs; working within the system; the administrative solution	Rupture of social control; radical transformation of existing patterns of interaction; revolutionary change of the social system

4. Order and Conflict Theories as Socially Situated Vocabularies

Dominant groups: the establishment and administrators of the establishment	Subordinate groups aspiring for greater power
Contemporary representatives: Parsonian and Mertonian approach to social problems as a liberal variant of order models; politically conservative approaches	C. W. Mills, new left (SNCC, SDS, etc.) approaches and old left (socialistic and communistic)

Source: Horton (1966) p. 7.

when it is converted into a normative rule for planning. To be meaningful, every social norm must be brought into concrete relation with the historical conditions of collective life. That static equilibrium mode, valid only within a parameter of carefully stated and artificial assumptions, is wholly inappropriate by this standard" (p. 72).

This may be an appropriate place to take note of the largely atheoretical "distressed liberal" genre which, while essentially S/F in world view, calls for basic educational reform as a strategy for meliorative social reform. Representative work here would include Counts (1932), "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?"; Isidro (1957); Frank (1959), "Social Reconstruction through the Schools"; Brameld (1965); Bowers (1970); Siliberman (1970), "Education as Power", and Mayer (1973), "Education for a New Society"; as well as Elkin (1972); Shields (1973); Ginzberg (1974); et al. This work is notable on several counts. It is clearly within the equilibrium paradigm and largely avoids discussion of the role that power and conflict must play in structural-change efforts, and it views inequities, inefficiency, and "dysfunctionality" in the schools as largely the result of bureaucratic or teacher "mindlessness" or of parental ignorance, but rarely as a consequence of social-class self-interest leading to structured inequality. Typically, it sees the means and process of educational-cum-social reform more or less in the following sequence: (1) literary exposure of perceived educational injustice (i.e., "muckraking"); (2) righteous indignation of the "informed citizenry"; and (3) mobilization of progressive–if privileged–social elements for leadership in educational reform (Ikzkoff, 1969). U.S. government agencies, foundations, and financial institutions, intervening both at home and abroad in the interests of poor people, continue to share the basic assumption of this genre, i.e., that educational reform will eventually lead in some enlightened, relatively conflict-free way to more equitable, democratic social relations and conditions.

In his recent study, *The Academic System in America* (1975), Touraine cogently argues that because the academic system is inevitably the instrument of the dominant social classes in any society, liberal reforms will always serve class interests. Liberalism is, he contends, not so much an enlightened and moderate position as an attempt to change the working of educational institutions without either questioning their relationship to society or considering the influences brought to bear upon them by dominant social and political groups. In short, because the equilibrium paradigms' seeming inability to support study of how power influences change efforts, none of its derivative theories can alone provide satisfactory evaluations and explanations of such power-based phenomena as attempted national educational reforms (Easton, 1956; Effrat, 1973).

And as the United States now moves into a new era of limited growth, heightened ethnic and class awareness, and intensified group competition for diminishing resources, the validity of the evolutionist and functionalist perspectives as embodied in liberal reform efforts have come under growing attack from both the ideological right (Tonsor, 1974) and left (Bowles, *et al.* 1975/76). With its limited ability to include, let alone explain, conflict in the calculus of reform efforts, the equilibrium paradigm must now seriously compete with alternative views of social and educational reform, as in Figure 10, that see change and instability as constant and unavoidable characteristics of all social organisms and relations.

Figure 10

AN ECOLOGY OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM

Type		Motivations for Choosing	Ends	Model	Norms-Core Values	Process-Style of Ed.	Historical Roots	Authority
The "Academic Revolution" or the rise of the "Multiversity"		Certification Employability Licensure	Knowledge Expertise	Bureaucratic at low ends of prestige ladder; stratified collegial at top	Cognitive rationality – Meritocratic	Scientific method	German University	Expert peers
The Popular Reforms		These reforms were not focused primarily on redefining the ends of education or inventing new institutional models, but were characterized by increases in student autonomy allowing students greater flexibility and choice in pursuit of their goals within the multiversity.						
The Telic Reform	*Neo-Classicals*	To be civilized; to enter aristocratic intellectual culture	Virtue: To know the Good	Community of Scholars	Faith in classical texts; Platonic idealism – aristocrats	Socratic; modeling the elders	Plato's Academy	Texts, wisdom of elders
	Aesthetic-Expressives	To release and develop creativity, to live in artistic community	To foster creativity	Bohemian artistic community	Creative expression – Refined sensibility	Studio-apprenticeship/ informal seminar	Bauhaus Bohemias: Paris, Bloomsbury, Manhattan	Aesthetic sensibility of masters
	Communal-Expressives	To attain acceptance, to express feelings, obtain group support	Social harmony	Tribal family	Affective loving support egalitarian-humanist	Encounter T-Group ritual Interpersonal feedback	National Training Laboratory, Utopian communities,	Feeling and emotion
Movements	*Activist-Radicals*	To participate in social change; to act against injustice	To generate radical critique; to train "change agents"	College as political instrument or support base for political movement	Political power and influence – egalitarian-populist	Engagement, field study activist-scholar	Labor education movement	Ballot box, other forms of political power

Source: Grant and Riesman (1975), p. 167.

THE CONFLICT PARADIGM AND THE NOTION OF ENDEMIC STRESS/CHANGE

Studies of socioeconomic, cultural, and educational change using variants of conflict theory have increased significantly during the past decade or so (Coser, 1956; Dahrendorf, 1959; Zeitlin, 1968; Allardt, 1971; Carnoy, 1971; Collins, 1971; Smelser, 1971; Young, 1971; Boudon, 1974; Dreir, 1975). This work may be divided into three types of conflict "theory"—i.e., (1) Marxist and neo-Marxist explanations of socioeconomic conflict, (2) cultural revival or revitalization explanations of value conflict, and (3) the somewhat mixed bag of anarchist and anarchist-utopian institutional conflict and constraints on human development. It may also be further subdivided into studies that seek to extend and refine conflict theory per se, and those analytical and descriptive efforts to apply conflict theory so as to "explain" educational-change processes and outcomes in concrete settings.

MARXIST AND NEO-MARXIST THEORY

Marxist theory, by and large, has always been viewed as a legitimate political philosophical-cum-theoretical system in Western Europe, regardless of one's ideological orientation. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find a flourishing body of Western European reform-studies—especially in West Germany, France, and Great Britain—using neo-Marxist frames to study the political economy of education and educational-reform efforts (Simon, 1965; Bourdieu, 1970 & 1973; Altvater, 1971; Klafki, 1971; Young, 1971; Vaughan & Archer, 1971; Huisken, 1972; Bernfeld, 1973; Bourdieu, 1973; Heinrich, 1973; Masuch, 1973; Rubenstein & Simon, 1973; Boudon, 1974; Forfatterkollektiv, 1975; Kallós, 1975; Touraine, 1975).

In a perceptive assessment of this increasing influential work, Kallós (1975) suggests that these studies may perhaps be best characterized as critiques of traditional economic analyses of education, on the one hand, and as attempts to analyze the effects of investments in education and in educational planning from dialectical materialistic frames of reference on the other.

In the United States, in marked contrast, Marxist perspectives on social and educational change have been largely rejected and/or ignored (Davis, 1959, p. 761; Dunkel, 1972). Although this tradition continues, there is a growing if limited and begrudging academic acceptance of analysis using neo-Marxist perspectives in the study of social and educational change and the sociology of development (Gintis, 1971, 1972; Bowles, 1973; Carnoy, 1973, 1974, 1975; Frank, 1973; Levin, 1973, 1974; Collins, 1975; Genovese, 1975; Zachariah, 1975; Paulston, 1976).

Although all variants of conflict theory reject the evolutionists' and functionalists' image of society as a system of benign self-regulating mechanisms where maintenance of social equilibrium and harmony is "functional" and disruption of harmony is "dysfunctional," only Marxism as social-science theory is linked with policy prescriptions for revolutionary change from below. The emphasis on power, exploitation, contradictions, and the like in the Marxist dialectical approach has several important implications for our question concerning the preconditions for educational reform. Formal education is here viewed as a part of the ideological structure which a ruling class controls to maintain its dominance over the masses and because formal education is dependent on the dominant economic and political institutions, it cannot be a primary agent of social transformation . . . it can only follow changes in the imperatives of the economic and political social order (Gramsci, 1957; Zachariah, 1975).

Levin (1974) argues in the same vein that changes in the educational sector will parallel and follow from changes in a society's traditional economic, political, and social relationships. If school-reform movements violate "the percepts of the polity . . . they either failed to be adopted, or failed to show results." Thus, he argues, many attempts to individualize instruction failed because they violated "the need for conformity and class-related interchange ability among individuals in the hierarchical organizations that characterize both industry and government in our society." In like manner, "Compensatory Education" for youth from low-income families fails because "schools are not going to succeed in reducing the competitive edge of the advantaged over the disadvantaged in the race for income and status." The "desegregation" of schooling fails for similar reasons, and attempts to equalize the financial support of the schools "will also fail since society regards the ability to provide a better educational background a privilege of the rich rather than a right of every citizen. In short, only when there is a demand for educational reform by the polity, will educational reform succeed. The historical record bears out that the "turning points" in the functions of schools coincide with major movements (Callahan, 1962; Tyack, 1967; Katz, 1968) that changed the social order" (p. 316.)

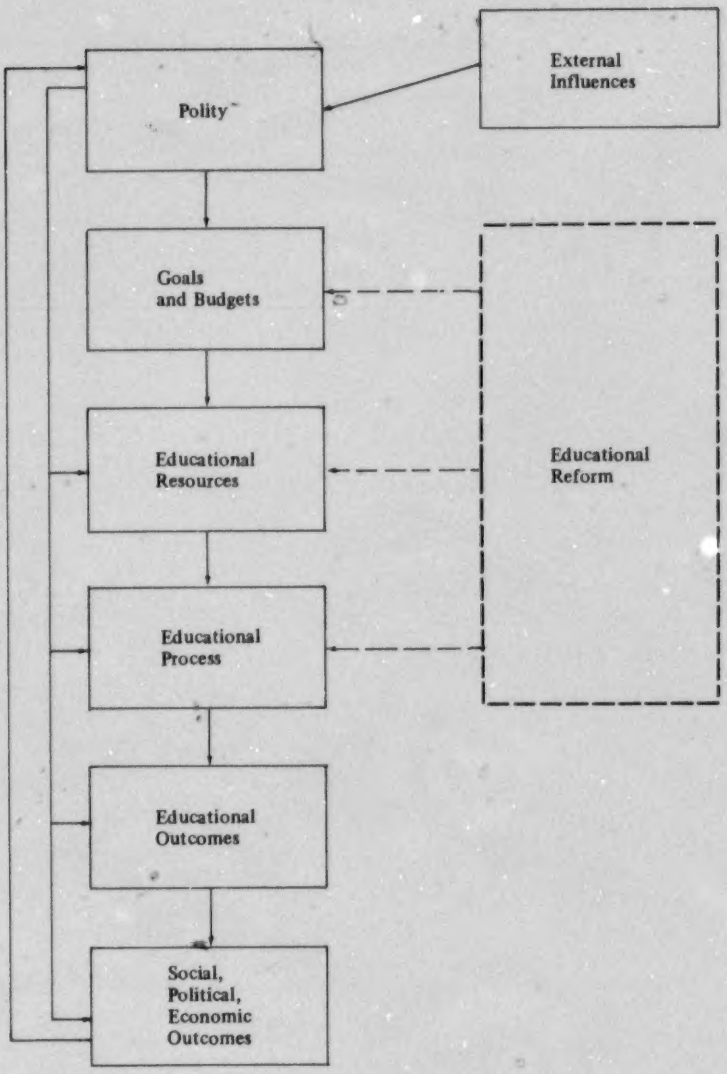
From the Marxist dialectical perspective, national reforms will only take place when they are viewed by dominant political and economic elites as defending or advancing their interest vis-à-vis nonprivileged groups in society. High wastage rates, for example, are viewed as "malfunctions," i.e., as a technical problem by structural functionalists. Marxists, in contrast, are more likely to view this problem as a part of a control process where dropouts are taught to accept the responsibility for their failure and their disqualification in competition for power, status, and consumption, while the winners will tend to defend and continue a highly inequitable status quo (Carter, 1975). From S/F and human-capital perspectives, schools carry out socialization for competence (Inkeles, 1966). Marxists, however, see schooling linked to the social relations of production. Inequalities in school experiences are, accordingly, viewed as differential socialization to meet the demands of hierarchical societies (Gramsci, 1949; Bowles, 1972; Bernfeld, 1973). Educational-reform efforts in nonsocialist countries that are not accompanied by efforts to change the social relation of production are, accordingly, explained as just one more use of public institutions to enable the few to maintain a self-serving cultural hegemony (Katz, 1968, 1971; Paulston, 1971; Karier, 1973, 1975; Carnoy, 1974).

From this orientation, Levin's (1974) flow model of the educational system presented in Figure 11 seeks to illustrate how the values and goals of the larger society and those of the educational sector coincide in "a continuous and reinforcing flow." The view of educational reform in isolation from the polity is represented by the dotted box to the right of the flow diagram. The three dotted arrows suggest that educational reforms, as in the Progressive Education Movement, or in the War On Poverty, are directed at altering (1) the budgetary support and goals of the education sector, (2) the various types of educational resources used, and (3) the organization of these resources in educational programs. If implemented, these reforms would, according to Levin, "create different educational outputs as well as social, economic and political outcomes and would result in a change in the polity. But to the degree that such reforms do not correspond to the social, economic and political order, our previous analysis suggests that they must fail" (p. 315).

Conversely, only with a socialist revolution and the ensuing ideological and structural changes toward equality in the larger socioeconomic and political context of education will it be possible, Marxists contend, to eliminate the inequitable

Figure 11

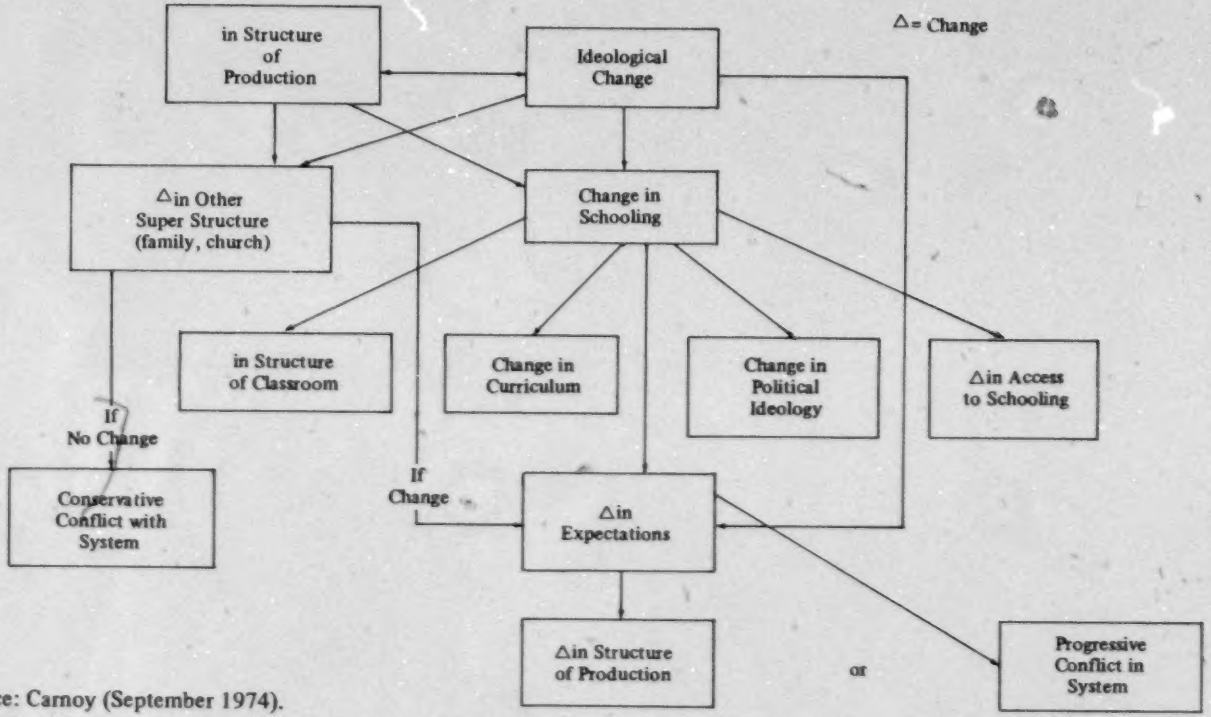
INFLUENCE OF THE POLITY ON EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIOECONOMIC OUTCOMES



Source: Levin (1974), p. 308.

Figure 12

A SYSTEMS APPROACH TO EDUCATIONAL REFORM



Source: Carnoy (September 1974).

exploitative character of schools and other social institutions, or what Carnoy (1974) has termed, "Education as Cultural Imperialism."

We might note how several recent studies of the "colonizing" functions of schools and related social institutions have used systems models (Harvey, 1974; Carnoy, 1976). These efforts replace S/F premises of value consensus and moving equilibrium and, instead, seek to delineate, using conflict orientations and relationships between subsystems of exploited and exploiting social sectors. In a variation on this theme, Carnoy, in Figure 1, presents a systems view of educational-reform process where change in the social relations of production (see Vanek, 1975) and national ideology are viewed as key determinants of altered structures and behavior both in the educational system and in other social agencies.

Despite their evident diagnostic and predictive power, Marxist analysis and prescriptions have been viewed by state officials in most developing countries as subversive to the existing social and political order and of little, if any, value in collaborative efforts with U.S. institutions to help resolve what most American developmentalists view as essentially the technical and motivational problems or "malfunctions" constraining efficiency in formal school systems. In addition to its political liabilities as an alternative paradigm of why and how social and educational change takes place, Marxist and neo-Marxist theory—i.e., Marxist analysis that rejects such metaphysical and deterministic notions as "historical inevitability" and "class struggle" and largely settles for study of interest-group conflict (R. Dahrendorf, 1965; Dreir, 1975) also has serious problems in operationalizing key concepts (Smelser, 1971).

Yet, despite its dogmatic aspects and conceptual limitations, neo-Marxist theory applied to problems of social and educational change has contributed much to discredit equilibrium explanations of reform failure and success. With its primary focus on economic and political relations, however, Marxists and neo-Marxist theory have been notably unable to account for cultural-change phenomena, another area of conflict theory to which we now turn.

CULTURAL REVIVAL & SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

In comparison to the vast body of work on socio-educational reform grounded in Marxist theory and its variants, the literature on culture change and culture conflict applied to educational change is exceedingly sparse. It may be recalled that functional theory assumes a high degree of normative consensus across social systems, while Marxist theory posits normative consensus or an ethos shared across major social groups—i.e., the working class, the middle class, and conflict between classes. Cultural-revitalization theory, in contrast, focuses not on social classes but, according to Wallace (1956), on "deliberate organized conscious efforts by members of a society to construct a more satisfying culture." Such efforts are viewed as constantly recurring phenomena, a type of culture-creating activity in collective efforts of varying size which seeks social and cultural change that may take place at local or national levels. This activity has considerable potential for both conflict and social change (Simon, 1965; Allardt, 1971; Paulston, 1972; LaBelle, 1973). In contrast to more gradual culture-change processes as exemplified by evolution, acculturation, and diffusion of innovations, cultural-revitalization efforts may be viewed as attempts to innovate not merely discrete elements, but largely new cultural systems specifying new social norms and behaviors (Good-enough, 1963). Wallace (1956) for example, contends that revitalization move-

ments, as a form of collective action, occur under two conditions: high stress for individual members of society and disillusionment with a distorted cultural *Gestalt*. Where such processes take place as in "mass movements," "messianic movements," "ethnic movements," or "revolutionary movements," they all require members to profess adherence to the movement's ideology or evaluative principles about the ends and means of human action, and emphasize the need to reduce stress through collective efforts for change (Anderson, 1968).

Revitalization movements are relevant to this discussion because they may influence educational-change efforts in both steady-state and revolutionary societies. In the first situation, groups undergoing cultural revival or revitalization processes in conservative/liberal societies may reject formal public schooling for their young because it conflicts with their new cognitive and evaluative models, their ideology and aspirations for new social norms and relations (Itzkoff, 1969; LaBelle, 1975; Paulston, 1976). Shalaby's *The Education of a Black Muslim* (1972), for example, describes how innovative formal and nonformal educational programs created by the Black Muslim movement differ greatly from the education experienced by most American blacks in formal schools. Additional examples are the rejection of schooling as a means of resistance to acculturation by members of the native American and Chicano movements in North America today and by the Kikuyu School Movement before independence in Kenya. When the requisite resources and tolerance are available, culture-building movements may also seek to create alternative schools, or educational systems, educational settings where learning will be under movement control and shaped and infused by the movement's ideology and views of social injustice and culture conflicts as well as its new values, hopes, and dreams (Paulston, 1973, 1975; Adams, 1975; Paulston and LeRoy, 1975).

In the second situation, i.e., where a revolutionary-cum-revitalization movement has successfully captured political power in a nation, both formal and nonformal education will be extended and fundamentally altered in systematic efforts to implant and legitimize the new value system (Anderson, 1968; Allardt, 1971; Paulston, 1972). Figure 13 indicates in the left-hand cells—albeit in a superficial manner—how revitalization movements that come to power as what Anderson calls "underdog systems," as well as other types of revolutionary movements, have varying potential for building new culture and changing educational systems.

We might also note Wallace's attempt, reproduced in Figure 14, to indicate how learning priorities will differ in societies at different stages of socio-political change. Educational change in conservative-cum-liberal societies—as the United States and Great Britain—able to co-opt and manage dissent, will emphasize technique and normative consensus. When societies are dominated by a revitalization movement and move into a revolutionary phase as in Cuba and China, educational reforms will above all emphasize morality, both to promote the destruction of the old social and cultural order and to guide the building of the new one. Reactionary societies are post-conservative or failed-revolutionary—as Spain or Chile—societies under serious threat from what are viewed as treasonable, heretical conspiracies imported from abroad. Thus, educational priorities and programs in reactionary societies will seek to discredit any competing cultural movement by drawing on "traditional" religious and political values. In reactionary societies, change in education will accompany "re-emphasized religiosity, a refurbished political ritualism, repressive laws, and oppressive police—and in the schools—a

Figure 13

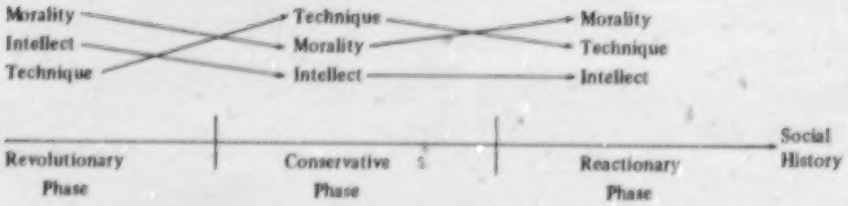
REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL FOR SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGE AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM

	Changes through an "Underdog" Mass Movement	Changes from the Top or from the Outside
Accomplished Structural Change Including Building of New Institutions	1. Major Structural Revolutions Cases: The Russian Revolution The Castroist Cuban Revolution The Maoist Chinese Revolution Effects: Considerable culture-destruction and culture-building effects. Educational systems radically transformed to inculcate and support the new value system.	3. Elite Revolutions and Mechanized Structural Transformations The Meiji Restoration in Japan after 1868. Turkey under Ataturk. Peru after 1968. Cases: The transformation of the Eastern European societies from above after 1945. Results: Cultural reformation imposed from above, but small likelihood of creating a shared new culture Formal educational system adapted, differentiated, and regimented
Minor Changes, No Institution Building	2. Unsuccessful "Underdog" Revolts Cases: The European Uprisings of 1848 The Spartakus Revolt of Berlin, 1919 The Hungarian Uprising of 1956 Chile after Allende Numerous revolts in colonial countries Effects: Repression and attempted eradication of the unsuccessful new culture-building efforts; educational efforts largely reactionary and punitive	4. "Palace" Revolutions, or Revolutionary Coups Cases: Most Latin American and African "revolutions" Effects: No culture-building or educational-change effects

Source: Paulston (1972), p. 481, and Allardt (1971), p. 28.

Figure 14

LEARNING PRIORITIES IN REVOLUTIONARY, CONSERVATIVE, AND REACTIONARY SOCIETIES



Source: Wallace (1956), p. 49.

conviction that the moral education of the young must take precedence over all else" (Wallace, p. 25).

From a related, but more prescriptive orientation, Horton (1973) contends that significant structural change in educational systems will always be a function of the emergence of mass underdog movements seeking to put a radically different cultural system into practice—i.e., cultural movements that again would fall, depending on their success, into one of the two left-hand quadrants of Figure 13. His strategy for educational reform draws on both the theory and experience of cultural movements seeking change from below:

> We should have learned by now that fundamental restructuring will not occur in response to outcries against inadequacies of the present system or according to elite blueprints for change. Advocacy alone . . . has never brought about radical change. We have learned from the folk schools in this country and abroad, from Paulo Freire and others like him, and from the great popular movements of this Century, that people become motivated when they are personally involved in processes relating directly to them and their own life situations. . . . Thus, the only way to effect radical changes in the educational system is for educators to make alliances . . . with community people, students, various ethnic groups, union members. . . . Goals, curriculum, and policy . . . will be changed to the degree more and more people begin participating in decision making and become agents of fundamental change in the educational system and society at large (p. 340).

ANARCHISTIC AND UTOPIAN THEORY

Anarchistic and utopian theories of social change share the Marxian goal of radical social transformation, and the concern of cultural revival and revitalization

movements for individual renewal. In marked contrast to all other previously noted theories seeking to explain and predict educational-reform processes, they rarely bother to validate their call to reform with the findings and methods of social science, or to put their theory into practice (Idenberg, 1974). Accordingly, utopian visions of educational transformation for a radically reordered world may influence the general debate on needs and priorities for educational change, but they are for the most part rejected by politicians and professionals responsible for assessing the feasibility and desirability of educational-reform strategies (Livingstone, 1973). The utopians' often insightful critiques of existing inequalities and "evils" in education may serve to provoke impassioned discussion (Rusk, 1971; Gaubard, 1972; Marin, 1975), but utopian analysis only rarely takes into account how existing oppressive power relationships and lack of tolerance for "deviance" or change in any given social setting will influence reform efforts of whatever scope or magnitude (Gil, 1973; MacDonald, 1973; Freire, 1974). Typically, the utopians begin with a critical analysis of socio-educational reality and rather quickly wind up in a dream world. Although few roads lead from their models to reality, the utopians' prescriptive work has been valuable as a spur to debate on the constraints that would-be educational reformers must recognize if their plans, as well, are to be more than pious "dreams."

Proposals for radically altered educational goals, programs, and outcomes that fit somewhere in this cell have burgeoned during the past decade. Reimer (1970) suggested alternative schools to help achieve "a peaceful revolution." Earlier, Goodman (1960) proposed that real-life encounters, or learning in the context of adult transactions (i.e., the Greek *Paideia*), and development of critical awareness are the best ways to prepare effective, knowledgeable citizens. Thus professions and trades would be learned in their practice and not in schools where knowledge is often divorced both from its origins and applications and therefore, from the utopian view, creates an alienating relationship between life and learning.

Illich (1971 and elsewhere) has refined and extended this critique of schooling with epigrammatic brilliance and paradoxical insight. He argues that political revolutionaries are shortsighted in their goals for educational reform because they want only "to improve existing institutions—their productivity and the quality and distribution of their products. The political revolutionary concentrates on schooling and tooling for the environment that the rich countries, socialist and capitalist, have engineered. The cultural revolutionary risks the future on the educability of man" (pp. 172-73).

Because Illich believes that institutions form not only the character but the consciousness of men, and thus the economic and political reality, he advises the world's poor and disenfranchised to shun the solution of universal schooling. For schools, with their "hidden curriculum," are the key mechanism used by the schooled to preserve their privilege and power while simultaneously diffusing any attempts at social transformation. In poor nations, especially, Illich contends that obligatory schooling is a monument to self-inflicted inferiority, that to buy the schooling hoax is to purchase a ticket for the back seat in a bus headed nowhere.

For Illich, meaningful educational reform means abolition of the formal school's monopoly on education and the creation of new ways to link work, life, and learning in such new educational approaches as "learning webs," "skill exchanges," and "reference services." Thus, he contends that meaningful educational reform will only take place following the abolition of schooling, certainly a utopian and somewhat *simpliste* demand if schools are viewed as the very keystone to the defense, legitimation, and perpetuation of privilege. This and other basic

contradictions in Illich's strategy for educational change have been critically discussed in a number of recent telling attacks (Gintis, 1973; Gartner, 1974; Manners, 1975). Yet, his warning to Castro concerning the limits of educational-reform contributions to social reconstruction is instructive nevertheless:

> There is no doubt that the redistribution of privilege, the redefinition of social goals, and the popular participation in the achievement of these goals have reached spectacular heights in Cuba since the revolution. For the moment, however, Cuba is showing only that, under exceptional political conditions, the base of the present school system can be expanded exceptionally . . . yet the Cuban pyramid is still a pyramid. . . . There are built-in limits to the elasticity of present insitutions, and Cuba is at the point of reaching them. The Cuban revolution will work within these limits. Which means only that Dr. Castro will have masterminded a faster road to a bourgeoisie meritocracy than those previously taken by capitalists or bolsheviks. As long as communist Cuba continues to promise obligatory high-school completion by the end of this decade, it is, in this regard, institutionally no more promising than fascist Brazil, which has made a similar promise. . . . Unless Castro deschools Cuban society, he cannot succeed in his revolutionary effort, no matter what else he does. Let all revolutionists be warned! (1971, pp. 176-177).

Where Illich sees the elimination of schooling as a necessary precondition for the millenium, Reimer (1971), Freire (1973), and Galtung (1975) view "true" education—i.e., becoming critically aware of one's reality in a manner that leads to effective action upon it, as a basic force for revolutionary social renewal. According to Reimer, if the proportion of persons so educated were

> twenty percent instead of two, or thirty instead of three, such a society could no longer be run by a few for their own purposes, but would have to be run for the general welfare . . . class distinctions would also tend to disappear in educated societies . . . an educated society would become and remain highly pluralistic . . . an educated population would make not only their nations but also their specialized institutions responsive to the needs and desires of clients and workers, in addition to those of managers . . . any sizable educated minority would not put up with . . . the absurdities that inflict modern societies (pp. 121-122).

Reimer's "rationalist" strategy for utopia also calls for the redistribution of educational resources in an inverse ratio to present privilege; the prohibition of educational monopoly; universal access to educational resources; and the decentralization of power. This latter condition, according to Reimer, "rules out political revolution." Instead of political revolution with its "history of betrayal," Reimer proposes a *deus ex machina* of "peaceful revolution . . . in which the nominal

holders of power discover that they have lost their power before they begin to fight" (p. 139).

Freire's utopian vision grew out of his practical attempts to teach literacy and critical consciousness to poor peasants in Brazil and Chile. In two of his major works, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1971) and *Cultural Action for Freedom* (1970), he elaborates a highly ideological strategy for education that supposedly liberates oppressed people through dialogue, language development, and struggle to "emerge" from self-perceived cultural inferiority. His central message is that one can only know in proportion to the extent that one "problematizes" the natural, cultural, and historical reality in which one is immersed. In contrast to the technocrat's "problem-solving" concerns for education where students become expert in detached analysis, Freire advocates education where an entire populace (with leadership contributions from sympathetic members of the privileged classes!) attempts to codify total reality into symbols which can generate critical consciousness and empower them to alter their relations with both natural and social forces.

Such educational efforts seeking to facilitate the "maximum of potential consciousness" in the emerging masses take place in two stages: as "cultural action for freedom" when it occurs in opposition to the "dominating power elite"; and as "cultural revolution" when it takes place in harmony with a newly dominant revolutionary regime.

In a recent introduction to Freire's methodological primer, *Education for Critical Consciousness* (1973), Goulet cautions that

> Freire cannot be taken seriously if . . . judged only in terms of short term results. The oppressed in every society have no difficulty in recognizing his voice as their own [but] they heed only serious ideas which they can put into practice. It is in this basic way that Freire's approach to education, communication, and technology is serious: it means nothing unless it is re-created by human communities in struggle. Necessarily, therefore, short term results may prove disappointing because such efforts view creative Utopianism as the only viable brand of realistic politics in a world characterized by the *praxis* of domination (p. xiii).

As all conflict theories of educational change are essentially a view of the whole from the part, they are all more concerned with educational change seeking greater equity and justice. It may be appropriate to close this review with a comment on Adam Curle's recent book, *Education for Liberation* (1973). Here Curle describes his earlier work on educational-planning efforts that were framed largely in equilibrum and human-capital views of social reality and the "appropriate" economic- and educational-development strategies that follow from these perspectives. Curle concedes there is some truth in the hypothesis that because education also inculcates the attitudes and skills which increase productivity, the more education, the more wealth: "but the arguments are complex, ambiguous and moreover, now irrelevant to me because I have reached an understanding of development of which the keystone is justice rather than wealth" (p. 1).

Curle now views all school systems as more or less contributory to the continuation of structured inequality, environmental pollution, and racial disharmonies. "Instead of being hopeful about education, I began to see it in its total

effect to be hostile to what I see as development." As "education enslaves" and people "become free through their own efforts," the direction of educational change should, according to Curle, be toward increasing the awareness levels of youth and adults in existing schools.

His change strategy calls for the conscious development of the "counter system," which exists, he contends, within "each one of us" and within the dominant institutional system as well (see Figure 15). He describes this system at the individual, psychological level as characterized by greed and aggression, and at the national level by power and exploitation networks that dominate human relationships. The counter-system, in contrast, is characterized as "democracy in its ideal and virtually unknown form" (p. 10).

Although Curle uses a conflict diagnosis and suggests that educational reforms in the counter-system may have "some effect" in undermining the system, he rejects efforts to mobilize the losers and openly press for the elimination of structured violence and exploitation.

> I have no patience with those who maintain that the society cannot be changed and the economic system cannot be changed . . . until the law is changed, and so on. Changes are brought about by people who try to influence the segment of life they are involved with, strengthening the relationships and institutions that promote the counter-system. Hopefully, if the educators do their part, then economists, politicians, lawyers and the rest will be comparatively active. We may have to operate with and within the existing facilities and take what opportunities are offered to make changes, however small, in the right direction" (pp. 11-12).

Thus Curle, as do the other utopians, presents compelling arguments for more humane schooling and more equitable life chances. But as a convert to the conflict paradigm his position is, to say the least, ambivalent. On the one hand he readily acknowledges conflict in educational and social relations. On the other, his prescriptions for school reform are quitessentially utopian and avoid the realities of how educated elites maintain privilege through control of economic relations and social institutions.

In his provocative study of Thomas Carlyle, Rosenberg has noted that "in the liberal conception of politics, force is always by definition something extraneous, abnormal and inevitably tainted with illegality," that liberalism is an ideology tending to prevent (however unintentionally) "the search for the locus of political power and to render more secure its actual holders."[2] Curle, along with the others presenting utopian school-reform prescriptions in this section, might be best described—using Rosenberg's aphorism—as liberal utopians unable to come to terms with the implications of their visions for social and educational reconstruction (House, 1974).

With the partial acceptance of neo-Marxist descriptive theory, and to a less extent its predictive theory as well (See Morgenstern, 1972), a number of essentially liberal technical-assistance organizations such as the Ford Foundation, the World Bank, *et al.*, are also to some degree now caught in Curle's dilemma of using the conflict frame for diagnosis and the equilibrium world view as the basis for their normative theory (Clignet, 1974; House, 1974; Simmons, 1975; Silvert, 1976; Stevens, 1976). This difficult balancing act calls for increased attention to

Figure 15

SYSTEM AND COUNTER-SYSTEM

	Level of Awareness	Mode of Identity	Motive	Dominant form of Relationship	Institutions (i.e., Schooling)
system	Lower	Belonging-Identity	Competitive Materialism	Unpeaceful (Conflicted) Relationships, Manipulative at Inter-personal Level, Socially and Politically Exploitative	Competition, Imperialism, Capitalism, Class and Political Structures Based on Power, the Exploitative Network
counter-system	Higher	Awareness-Identity	Altruistic and Empathetic	Peaceful (Unconflicted), Loving and Supportive	Co-operative and Egalitarian, Democracy in Its Best Forms

Source: Curle (1973), p. 10.

the need for a new dialectic viewpoint drawing on both equilibrium and conflict paradigms, a difficult task now underway (Coser, 1956; Berghe, 1963; Lenski, 1966; Schermerhorn, 1970; Galtung, 1975).

In Figure 16, Stevens (1976) presents an interesting variation on what we might call "the liberal's dilemma" in attempts to present logically consistent diagnoses and prescriptions for educational reform. He asks, for example, "how can school reforming be so popular and yet have so little impact on the institutional character of schools: their purposes, forms, and functions? How can we distinguish 'refining' reforms from the more revolutionary reforms?" His proposal is "to classify and analyze school reform ideas in an organizational, as opposed to an educational, political, or ideological context . . . to attempt to see the potential power of various reform ideas and their inherent limits as well" (pp. 371-372).

Stevens notes that his type III, or "process" reforms have the potential for fundamental change in educational control, i.e., "power," and accordingly for changes "in the schools' purposes, forms, and functions." Here he recognizes the impossibility of ignoring ideology and power in explaining reform failures by acknowledging that "if educational control is placed in different hands, it seems very likely that different kinds of educational decisions may be made–and that schools may well be turned to different ends and be remade in new forms" (p. 374). But as Stevens, like Curle *et al.*, avoids conflict in his normative theory, he is left with little more than a paradox, i.e., "that the more achievable reforms–those tied to the 'structure' and 'product' components of the schools–seem least likely to result in changes that are most needed. . . . Similarly, reforms that are most difficult to achieve–because they generate the strongest disagreement and most powerful opposition–are precisely the 'process' kinds of reforms that might well

result in some fundamental educational reforms. Serious redesign of the schools is thus an uphill proposition whose possibilities are related inversely to its importance" (p. 374).

And because Stevens ignores the normative implications of his proposition that a shift in educational control is a possible necessary condition for basic change in educational goals, programs, and outcomes, he is left with little more than the conclusion that schools as entrenched bureaucracies are "almost impervious to redesign, typically withstanding the best efforts of the most skillful reformers" (p. 371).

2. P. Rosenberg, *The Seventh Hero: Thomas Carlyle and The Theory of Radical Activism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974), pp. 116, 120.

Where functionalists view educational change from the needs of total social systems, and conflict-theory adherents explain reforms as a function of power rather than need, a non-Marxist dialectical perspective provides no a priori answers (Gouldner, 1976). Rather, the dialectic is an empirical approach, a way of knowing suitable for observing and probing social and educational change (see Figure 17). Gurvitch (1962) puts it well in his explanation that the dialectic: "regards all forms of social stability and structure as problematic and not fixed. . . . it involves the recognition, and attempts to portray, many types of duality that appear in continually changing social wholes, from complementarity and mutual implication to ambiguity, ambivalence, and polarization. Thus some types of duality involve oppositions and conflicts while others do not. As change continues, some types of duality are transformed into others under special conditions. One of the tasks of social research is to seek out these conditions and specify them in particular cases" (pp. 24-26).

From this position, I view the functional and conflict interpretations of total societies and of continuity and change in education discussed in this review as dialectically related. Both views are necessary for adequate explanation of change and lack of change in social and educational phenomena and relationships. Although my personal bias is toward conflict theory, I also believe along with Schermerhorn (1970) that "neither perspective can exclude the other without unwarranted dogmatism. This holds true for analysis both at the global level of total societies, as well as in the more limited spheres of . . . groups and their interactions with dominant groups" (p. 51).

In this regard, Dahrendorf (1967, p. 127) has also argued for a social science capable of recognizing alternative social realities. Sociological problems and processes such as structural change in educational systems, for example, can only be understood, he contends, with "both the equilibrium and conflict models of society; and it may well be that in a philosophical sense, society has two faces of equal reality: one of stability, harmony and consensus, and one of change, conflict and constraint" (p. 127).

There may be truth in the argument that the equilibrium and conflict paradigms are irreconcilable. There is however some evidence to the contrary in studies attempting to apply the dialectical method—if only in part—to the study of change processes (Berghe, 1963; N. Gross, 1968, 1971; Young, 1971; Campbell, 1972; Weiler, 1974). And if we are to gain greater theoretical insight into "why and how educational reforms occur," I suggest that such gains will follow in large measure from a more sophisticated and insightful use of the dialectical method in all its variations.

Figure 16

A CLASSIFICATION OF EDUCATIONAL REFORM EFFORTS BY ORGANIZATIONAL COMPONENT

Organizational Component	Central Issue	Typical Criticism	Typical Reform
1. Structure	Educational efficiency and effectiveness ("Quality")	Low-quality schools	Higher school spending
		Inadequate school administration	Additional administrators; management systems, e.g., PPBS, MBO, MIS, computerized data; etc.
		Inadequate instruction	Additional teachers; teacher licensing reforms; CBTE; more/better inservice training; teachers' centers; etc.
		Inadequate school buildings	New and/or renovated schools
		Limitations of rural schools	School district consolidation; regionalization
		Limitations of smaller high schools. Dichotomy of vocational/academic programs	Bigger, comprehensive high schools
		Outmoded curricula	New curricula, e.g., new math, etc.; closed-circuit TV; programmed instruction; teaching machines; etc.
		Inefficient use of staff	Team teaching; departmentalized teaching; differentiated staffing; use of aides and paraprofessionals; etc.
2. Product	Educational equity ("Equality")	Low-achieving students	Remediation; compensatory education; Head Start; etc.
		High-achieving students	"Gifted" programs; advanced placement; etc.
		Foreign-born students	Bilingual education; ESL programs
		Unconventional learners	Alternative schools; minischools; special schools; community-as-resource schools; independent study; work-study; etc.

		School dropouts	Dropout prevention; out-of-school youth projects; equivalency diplomas
		Racially segregated schools	Integrated schools
		Discriminatory school practices	Nonracist, nonsexist school policies; elimination of "institutional racism"; elimination of tracking; students' rights codes; etc.
		Wide variations in school spending among school districts	State-aid equalization systems; plans to mandate equal school spending
3. Process	Educational control ("Power")	Dissatisfaction with schools' performance	Performance contracting; elimination of tenure for administrators; accountability systems
		Dissatisfaction with collective bargaining settlements	Parent/citizen participation in collective bargaining
		Exclusion of parents from educational decisions	Participatory roles for parents and other citizens in educational decision making
		Lack of consumer choice in schooling	Vouchers; entitlements for high school-age youth;* "public schools of choice"*
		Disillusion with school integration. Chronic unresponsiveness of big-city school bureaucracies	Community-controlled schools
		Monopoly of schools	"Deschooling"*

*"Public schools of choice" refers to an idea initially set forth by Mario Fantini. "Deschooling" refers to the Ivan Illich notion. The idea of "entitlements for high-school-age youth" was originally proposed by Paul Goodman and has more recently been suggested by the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee.

Source: Stevens (1976), p. 373.

Figure 17

STEPS OF ANALYSIS IN STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONAL AND DIALECTIC APPROACHES

Structural-functional (Levy 1968, p. 23)	Dialectical
1. Define the unit of phenomena to be studied.	1. Define the powers whose opposing pressures maintain the unit within a given state.
2. Discover the setting (i.e., those factors determining the limits within which the ranges of variations of the unit concerned take place).	2. Formulate the polar alternatives within which the unit actually and potentially oscillates under the given set of pressures.
3. Discover what general conditions must be met (i.e., functional requisites) if the unit is to persist in its setting without change (i.e., alteration of structures) on the level under consideration.	3. Discover all major external and internal contradictions which the unit has to deal with effectively in order to continue its identity. Take into consideration the mutual interdependence of various levels and structures which exercise their concerted pressure.
4. Discover what structures must be present in the system, as a minimum, if action in terms of the system is to result in the persistence of the unit in its setting without any change on the level under consideration (i.e., the structural requisites).	4. Discover the regularities within the process of change experienced by the unit in its dealing with the variety of pressures and moving situations. Look for transformations of the unit as products of its coping with external and internal constraints.

Source: Matejko (1974), p. 14.

> The most important thing . . . that we can know about a man is what he takes for granted, and the most elemental and important facts about a society are those that are seldom debated and generally regarded as settled.[3]

PART III

CONCLUSIONS

A. Concerning the power of existing theories to explain and predict educational-reform phenomena.

In this work, I have attempted to demonstrate how a selective review of the literature can be used to cluster explanatory studies of induced social and educational change. Each of these theoretical orientations is seen, moreover, as demonstrated in Figure 1, to hold fairly predictable assumptions about educational -reform needs, priorities, and the like. Thus, one may conjecture that proposals for reform strategies have not been random and eclectic. Rather, personal bias leads people to a number of possible theoretical and ideological orientations from which assumptions about why and when reforms should take place and what reform priorities and processes, if any, should be chosen, logically follow. All this is to say that many unspecified theoretical and ideological axes are ground in educational-reform studies, but little of this is ever acknowledged or made explicit.

3. L. Wirth as quoted in S. Bowles, H. Gintis, and P. Meyer, "Education, IQ, and the Legitimation of the Social Division of Labor," *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 20 (1975-76), pp. 250-51.

4. It is worth noting here how Chesler and Worden (1974) have summarized five persistent problems in the study of "Power and Social Change" in a recent special issue of the *Journal of Applied Behavioral Sciences*. I contend that these problems also seriously constrain the systematic assessment of educational reform "causes and effects." The problems are: "1) the need to include power in diagnostic efforts; 2) the emergence of values and partisan goals as key issues in power directed change; 3) the professional blindness of academics and many planned change experts to the nuances of power; 4) the concentration of power in the hands of white-Anglo, affluent, male-adult Protestants; and 5) the role of power as a vital part of planned social change efforts" (p. 462).

The literature also demonstrates a number of additional deficiencies:

(1) few studies come to grips with the concept of power in either the political and administrative or research and development phases of national reforms. As outcomes of structural-change efforts are functions of power and power-based activities, this can only be seen as a basic limitation.

(2) As major reforms are always a partisan, political process implying redistribution of power, the lack of attempts to specify ideological, interest-group, and other conflicts means that most reform studies present a narrow, unsophisticated and largely "technical" assessment of why and how reforms take place. Most studies avoid specification of "external" factors that lead to conflict over reform priorities. Nor do many reform studies analyze how existing ideologies "justify" structured inequality and influence reform processes as groups seek to defend or maximize benefits at the expense of others within the system. All too often, conflicts arising from ideological differences or the clash of vested interest groups are either ignored or treated as technical problems.[4]

(3) In addition to a general avoidance of ideological arguments and value conflict, most reform studies also ignore psychological conflicts that occasionally arise when educational change is viewed as "imposed" and not accompanied by changes in operant incentive systems. Few indeed are the studies that seek to specify culture-change components of reforms, and then assess the reforms' effectiveness in securing the sought-after cultural changes, or new cognitive and evaluational modes.

(4) In like manner, reform studies all too often discuss reform-policy and goal statements as fact and have by and large failed to specify outcomes, or to evaluate if reforms have indeed helped to secure the effects sought. This need is especially evident in socialist societies where reform efforts not only seek to mobilize power for structural change and increased participation, but also seek to inculcate what is usually a new collectivistic value system, with an attendant set of behaviors often at deviance with those rewarded and punished in the previous regime.

B. The state of the literature: Research gaps and needs

Given these deficiencies, of what use is existing literature for those who seek to advance our understanding of reform processes, and to better inform and direct future educational-change efforts? Further studies of the literature are needed to extend and refine the typologizing processes described above as well as to advance the further generation of propositions or questions of causal inference about likely independent variables in the formulation, implementation, and assessment of reform programs. Clearly, the present study–with its admittedly arbitrary categorization–is only a limited first step in what I hope will be a number of synthesizing investigations asking 1) "under what conditions" nationwide educational-reform efforts have occurred, and 2) how major reforms have, with a greater or lesser degree of success, supported significant change in norms, relationships, and movement toward national development objectives.

In sum, the literature can serve in a limited fashion to support inquiry concerning reform rationales and implementation processes. It cannot, however, yet support strong inference on reform effects: i.e., the extent to which reforms will significantly affect economic growth, social relations, increased participation or contribution to national development, and the like. If one seeks to generalize with greater precision and validity about possible educational-reform effects in structural and normative change, then it will first be necessary to systematically study and compare a range of both successful and unsuccessful national educational-reform efforts from both equilibrium and conflict perspectives in a variety of socioeconomic and political contexts (Simmons, 1975). It is to this need that the research strategy presented in Figure 18 is directed. Using such a heuristic device, comparative research might seek to identify key variables influencing each stage of the educational-reform process, and to assess both intended and unintended reform outcomes. Such case study evaluations of national educational-reform efforts using a common framework promise contributions to middle-range theory building–with the specification of testable generalizations about necessary and sufficient conditions for large-scale structural and normative change efforts. They should also be of value in efforts to elaborate a dialectical research perspective that is locked into neither functionalist nor conflict theory yet draws selectively and critically on each orientation.[5]

5. For earlier attempts to elaborate a rigorous dialectical method in "critical theory," see Martin Jay's provocative study, The Dialectical Imagination: A History of the Frankfort School and the Institute for Social Research (Boston, Mass.: Little, Brown, 1973).

Figure 18

A PROCESS MODEL SUGGESTED FOR CASE STUDY ANALYSIS/EVALUATION OF NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL-REFORM EFFORTS

Reform Stages

1. Identification of arguments re: need for change in socioeconomic or cultural contexts	2. Diagnosis of implications for change in educational system and in contextual relations	3. Elaboration of "treatment," i.e., planning alternatives in educational structures	4. Evaluation of normative, structural and behavioral changes sought, and unexpected outcomes
What values, ideology, i.e., normative premises? Who advocates? Who rejects? etc.	What social and educational change theory and biases? Whose expertise? Who attempts to discredit? etc.	How determined and justified re: 1 and 2? Who controls implementation? Who obstructs? etc.	What criteria? Whose goals? How determined? Who "wins"? Who "loses"? Relations to 1 and 2? etc. etc.

Explicit and Implicit Research Decisions in Case Analysis

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